The Nineteenth
Century Series

City of Westminster.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD LENDING LIBRARY.

Only Borrowers or responsible messengers admitted to the shelves. Books will not be entrusted to messengers considered unfit to take proper care of them.

Hours. Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 8 p.m., except Wednesdays (10 a.m. to 2 p.m.). Entrance barrier shut five minutes before closing time. Closed on Sundays and public holidays.

Fifteen days (including days of issue and return) allowed for reading this book. Fine of one half-penny per day or portion of a day if detained longer. Books cannot be exchanged on day of issue.

Renewals. Any book (except a work of fiction) may, on presentation at the Library, be re-borrowed for a further period of fifteen days, unless required by another reader. Books cannot be renewed by post.

Care of books. Books must be kept clean, and protected from wet weather. Leaves must not be turned down, nor pencil or other marks made thereon. Any damage done to books will be charged to the last borrower. Books selected should therefore be examined by borrowers and attention

Reserve
Book

the Library.

rowers or their guarantors, must be

as possible. Borrowers are respon-
tickets, which are not transferable.

eather, **umbrellas** must be left with

e returned on or before the THIRD
, as the Lending Library is then
default of such return a fine of **one**

M.S.C.

ESCOTT, T.H.S.

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS
IN THE CENTURY

7/10/80.

Infectious disease. IF INFECTIOUS DISEASE SHOULD BREAK OUT IN YOUR HOUSE DO NOT RETURN THIS BOOK, BUT AT ONCE INFORM THE LIBRARIAN. PENALTY FOR INFRINGEMENT OF THIS REGULATION, OR FOR KNOWINGLY PERMITTING THE BOOK TO BE EXPOSED TO INFLCTION, £5.

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close [redacted] on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays and Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

(13) 7/10/80.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SERIES

EDITOR:
JUSTIN McCARTHY.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:
REV. W. H. WITHROW, M.A., D.D., F.R.S.C.
CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS, M.A., F.R.C.I.
J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.R.S.L.
T. G. MARQUIS, B.A.
REV. T. S. LINSCOTT, F.R.C.I.

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS

IN THE CENTURY

BY

T. H. S. ESCOTT, M.A.

Author of "England, its People, Polity and Pursuits," "Politics and Letters," "Platform, Press Politics and Play," "Social Transformation of the Victorian Age," Etc.

THE LINSCOTT PUBLISHING COMPANY
TORONTO AND PHILADELPHIA

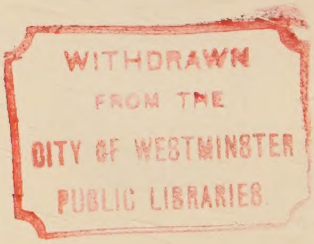
W. & R. CHAMBERS, LIMITED
LONDON AND EDINBURGH
1903

942.07 L6/2
[942.081]
3784 H
L 1784

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and One, by the Bradley-Garretson Co., Limited, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

Entered, according to Act of Parliament of Canada, in the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and One, by the Bradley-Garretson Co., Limited, in the Office of the Minister of Agriculture.

All Rights Reserved.



PREFACE.

WHAT is the nature of the influence that may be exerted upon his own generation or posterity by the personal character and life of a reigning sovereign? Such is the question, to which this book may help an answer. As the general title shows, the period specially dealt with is the Nineteenth Century. The English monarchs of our own period have entered upon a moral as well as a political heritage. Their conception of kingship has been, in some degree, the product of ancestral forces. Some retrospect, therefore, of English sovereignty, and of its development during the centuries which precede our own, thus seemed essential to an historical and logical understanding of the position filled by English monarchy in the century that is now drawing to a close. For that reason to have opened this volume with an account of the first English king who reigned since 1800 would have involved a serious omission. The situation, character and policy of George III. himself or of his successors must have been imperfectly understood without some reference to the conditions under which had been carried on the evolution of English sovereignty from Anglo-Saxon times. The personal factor in national royalty has been under no dynasties or individuals a negligible quantity. That general proposition could not have been established, or the debt of later sovereigns as well as of the nation itself to earlier occupants of the throne, have

been correctly estimated, without some retrospective glance at the personalities of those who wore the British crown during the earlier periods of modern history.

Diligent research in many quarters and over a wide area would perhaps have enabled the more industrious reader with the expenditure of much time and trouble to have found this information for himself. The principle of the present series to which this work belongs is that within the covers of each volume should be contained whatever is essential for an intelligent comprehension of the subject treated in the particular book. For these reasons, in the following pages it has seemed necessary to dwell with some circumstantiality of detail upon the character of kings and epochs, traces of whose influence more particularly abound in the contemporary position and fortunes of English kingship. The authorities consulted in the preparation of this work are upon all needful occasions mentioned in footnotes. Apart from these, the Author gratefully acknowledges his obligations to the greatest living historian of the English Constitution, Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, as well as to his old Oxford friend and contemporary, Sir Henry Hicks Hocking, of the Inner Temple, successively Attorney-General of Western Australia, Acting Chief-Justice of Gibraltar, and Attorney-General of Jamaica. Dr. Stubbs has in many private letters helped the writer with his knowledge and judgment; Sir Henry Hocking has been good enough to revise the references to points of Constitutional Law touched upon in the earlier chapters.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

BRIGHTON, ENGLAND.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE DAWN OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY IN ENGLAND.

PAGE

Shakespeare on the Genius of English Sovereignty.—The Historic Evolution of this Sovereignty not an unbroken Movement, but still, though Subject to Fluctuations, Vicissitudes, even Retrogressions, upon the whole Steadily Progressive.—All European Monarchies in their Origin Elective rather than Hereditary.—This shown by Instance of the Various Spanish Kingdoms and their Cortes.—Idea of Absolutely Hereditary Crown Entirely Foreign to English Character and History, as shown in the Elective Power exercised in the Anglo-Saxon Period by the Witenagemot, in the Anglo-Norman by the National Council, as the Witenagemot's Successor.—Special Instances of the Saxon Period Confirmatory of this View.—William the Conqueror and his Constitutional Title to the Crown.—The Norman Dynasty mostly Free from Norman Feudalism.—William I. and his People, and at Salisbury.—This Event itself the Reflection of the True Character of the English Monarchy.—A Prophecy of the Course and of the Issues of Later Reigns Contained in all those of Earlier Epochs.—One Principle Underlying these.—Amid Differing Conditions the Object as in Plantagenet, so in Stuart Times the Control of the Executive.—Circumstances Specially Favourable for the English Growth of Representative Government; Effect of these on Early Epochs of English Monarchy.—Two Keynotes of English Temper towards Sovereign, one, Patient Loyalty, preferring

PAGE

even Abuse to Revolution.—Tendency to Accept Accomplished Facts.—These things Specially Apparent During the Whole Period between the Norman and the Lancastrian Kings, Especially in the Case of Richard II., and the Popular Toleration of his Violations not only of the Constitution so far as yet formed, but of the Public Opinion now Beginning to Express itself in the House of Commons, and in English Literature as Organised by Chaucer.—Geoffrey Chaucer, M. P., as a King's Man.—Importance to Crown and Commons of the Lancastrian Accession, when Modern Problems First State Themselves.—Henry VII. and the Tudors as the Beginning of Modern History, and as Anticipations of Later Features in the Relations between Tudor Sovereigns and Subjects..... 1

CHAPTER II.

THE DAWN OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY IN ENGLAND (*continued*).

The Tudor Dynasty in its Personal Relation to Later Lines of Sovereigns, and to Later Statesmanship.—Accession of Henry VII.; a New Era Beginning Modern History.—Personality of Richard III. and Henry VII. Contrasted.—Henry VII. Sketched in Personal Detail as a Type of his Time, and as a Precursor of Nineteenth Century Policy and Administration at Home and Abroad.—Features and Influences of his Age in Art, Letters, and Foreign Discovery.—Henry VIII.; his Personal Stamp on his Time; not the Maker of the Church of England, but of some of its Working Machinery, *e. g.*, Creation of Bishops.—The Traditional Foreign Policy of England first Laid Down under Henry VIII. upon the same General Lines as those Followed by the English Foreign Office from Pitt to Palmerston.—Points of Contrast or Resemblance between the Great Queens of England, Elizabeth; Anne; Victoria.—Relations between Each of these, their Court, and their Period..... 26

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY UNDER THE TUDORS.

PAGE

The Historic Importance of Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, the Country Seat of Lord Salisbury.—Queen Elizabeth's Life of Studious Retirement at Hatfield before coming to the English Throne.—Visit Paid by the Princess Victoria, as a child, to Hatfield.—Her Interest in all the Elizabethan Associations of the Place.—Lessons Profitable for her Own Reign which the Future Queen carried away with her from Hatfield.—Controversies of Elizabethan Courtiers or Political Writers as to the Nature of the English Monarchy.—Bishop Aylmer, John Knox, and Secretary Sir Thomas Smith.—Points of Resemblance or Contrast between Elizabeth and Victoria.—Special Lessons which the Latter would Seem to have Learnt from the Earlier Queen.—General Characteristics of the Tudor Princes and their Quickness to Discover and Accept Public Opinion as Opposed to the Stuarts.—Special Source of Elizabeth's Strength as of Victoria's.—The Sympathy between Herself and the Parliamentary Estates at Westminster..... 44

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY UNDER THE STUARTS.

The Rise of the Stuarts (their Real Name being Fitz-Alan).—Elizabeth's Objection Officially to Recognise a Successor During her Life.—Her Acquiescence in the Supersession of the Will of Henry VIII.—Her Nomination on her Death-bed of James VI. of Scotland as her Heir to the Throne.—Popular Satisfaction with this arrangement, and Unpopularity of the Idea of Passing over the

PAGE

Scotch Stuarts, who, not Themselves in the Legal Line of Royal Succession, had got the Scotch Crown by a Bruce Intermarriage and who Claimed the English by a Tudor Intermarriage.—The Character of James I. and the Ill-effects of his Early Inheritance of the Scotch Crown and of his Scotch Education.—The Causes of his English Unpopularity before his Reign Actually Began.—General Misgivings Felt by Statesmen Concerning it.—Growth of House of Commons as Popular Champion Ignored by James.—His Consequent Quarrels with it Aggravated by his Want of the Tudor Tact, Ability, and Popularity of Manner.—Retrospect of the Stages in House of Commons Development.—Prospective Influence on Later English Sovereignty of James I.—Under Him or Under Charles I.—Principles of Later Religious Parties Gradually Defined.—Archbishop Whately on this Point.—Succession of Charles I. with Personal Points in his Favor.—His Early Failure to Recognise the Strength of English Parliamentarianism and Gradually Progressive Responsibility of King's Ministers to House of Commons.—Results of this Failure in the Case of Buckingham, which Directly Raised the Question of Ministerial Responsibility.—Prospective Importance to all Later Reigns of the Religious as well as Political Parties of the Caroline Era..... 64

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL RESULTS TO LATER ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS OF THE EARLIER STUART AND CROMWELLIAN ERAS.

Importance to all Later Periods and Reigns of the Long Parliament Meeting 1640.—Action of Long Parliament not Generally Innovating, but rather Reverting to and Re-establishing the Constitutional Precedent of the Earlier Plantagenets, yet the Long Parliament Committed Faults to Some Extent Justifying the Opposition of the King and Outstripping or Violating the Wishes

PAGE

of the Country.—Relations between National Feeling and Long Parliament.—Political and Individual Importance of Falkland's Hospitalities at Great Tew, Oxfordshire.—Influence Exercised by these at Later Epochs.—Their Representative Value and Interest.—The Episodes and Individuals of Seventeenth Century History which have Anticipated Later Personages and Events.—The Levellers Compared with the Chartists for the Moderation of some of their Views.—Political Changes of Faith in Historic Families Illustrated by the Cases of Harley and of Others.—Type of Political Character among Liberal Politicians, of which Cromwell set the Example.—Cromwell's Moderation and Imperialism.—Modern Instances of Statesmanship to Some Degree Resembling His.—Failure of Cromwell to Found a Dynasty.—Does it show a Republic to be for all Time Impossible in England?—Safeguards against a Return to Kingly Abuses under Charles II.—Feudalism Definitely Ends with Substitution of Excise for Military Tenures and with those Securities against Misappropriation of Parliamentary Funds, Perfected in the Modern System of Estimates.—Other Points of Modern Interest in Charles II.—Personal Features of the Royal Tradition Coming Originally from the Tudor Dynasty, which may be Referred to Charles II.—His First Object not Power over Others, but Liberty of Action for Himself.—His Intellectual Temper Shown in his Patronage of the Royal Society and in Scientific Enquiry Generally Prefigures the Scientific Interest of Later Royalties..... 101

CHAPTER VI.

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF MODERN ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY.

The Struggle between the Parliamentary and Monarchical Principles a General Characteristic of all Periods of English History from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century, was not Ended by the Defeat and

PAGE

Death of Charles I.—At the Restoration of Charles II., a Parliament, more Royalist than any under Charles I., returned.—That Stuart Absolution was not re-established under Charles II. is largely due to his Personal Character, his Good-natured Indolence and Indifference to the Exercise of Kingly Power.—These Traits Explain the Popular Liberty shown by the Comparative Absence of Royal Proclamations Overriding Law under Charles II.—Chief Exceptions to that Rule, the Suppression of Coffee-houses and one or two Edicts against Puritan Survivors.—Small Beginnings of Press Liberty under the Stuarts, but Crowned by Entire Success after the Revolution of 1688.—Various Features of Nineteenth Century Sovereignty and Courtiership Presaged under the Rule of William III. and Mary.—That Queen's Social Example of Possible Fruitfulness in the Present day.—Contradictions and Peculiarities in her Character now perhaps to be Reconciled and Explained.—Special Points in which the Character and Reign of William III. Anticipated much that in Feeling and Principle is Considered Distinctive of the Nineteenth Century — e.g., William's Attitude towards Religion and the Non-Jurors, and Especially Dodwell.—Some of these Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Non-Jurors specially were Nineteenth Century Forces.—Establishment of the Modern Press under this King.—Some of its Founders, Especially Daniel Defoe.—Modern Finance began with William III.'s Establishment of Bank of England and Modern Banking System, as did Modern Parliamentary Parsimony, Causing, as it did, much Dissatisfaction to the King.—William's Imperfect Acceptance of Modern Constitutionalism Shown Especially as Regards the Army.—The Highest and Most Philosophic Intellect of the Day Enlisted in the Service of the State—e.g., as Regards the Coinage Commission.—William's Liberalism shown in the Reform of Treason Procedure.—The Act of Settlement and the Era in English Sovereignty Constituted by it.—Queen Anne without Anything of William's Powerful Personality, but a Great Personal

PAGE

Influence in this Sovereignty.—Enthusiasm for her Created by her Relation to James II., and her Essentially English Character, thus Contrasting the Dutch Element in William III. and the French Element in the Pretender.—How the Personal Factor in the Pretender Prevented a Stuart Restoration, only the Pretender's Roman Catholicism Prevented him on Anne's Death from Being Proclaimed King at Charing Cross..... 134

CHAPTER VII.

TRANSITION FROM PERSONAL TO PARLIAMENTARY SOVEREIGNTY.

Jacobite Disconcertment at the Smooth Transition from the Last Stuart to the First Hanoverian Sovereign.—Queen Anne's Personal Work, her Special Relations with the Church of England and the Bishops and the Peace of Ryswick.—General Character of George I.—His Social Habits and Lack of Intellectual Interests, the Latter Partly Balanced by his Queen's Interest in Educated Churchmen, Butler, Berkeley, etc.—Constitutional Advantage Resulting from a King like George I. at his Particular Period.—Temper of English People Towards the two Representatives of English Sovereignty, Legitimist and Parliamentary, Hanoverian and Stuart.—Personal Character of the Old Pretender.—Popular Confusion about the Monarchy as an Institution, Inconsistent with Personal Loyalty to the Throne.—Political Progress of English People, Due to Faults and Failings of the Early Hanoverian Kings.—Gradual Establishment of Modern Constitutional Principles of Ministerial Responsibility, Supremacy of House of Commons, etc.—Modern Finance Established by Bank of England.—The Septennial Act.—Arguments for and Against it.—Representative Opinions on it of Eminent Englishmen.—The South Sea Scheme.—Outcry Against the Government.—Popular Vengeance against Official Promoters.—Public Tumult Stilled by Walpole's Remedial Measures.—Rise of Walpole to Supreme Power... 171

CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE I., GEORGE II., CROWN, CHURCH, EMPIRE AND PEOPLE.

PAGE

Reign of George I. Marks a New Era, the Result of his Visits to Hanover.—In Foreign Policy also, Understanding Arrived at with France through Dubois Against Stuart Pretender, and the Recognising the Hanoverian Dynasty.—Personal Views of Foreign Affairs of George I. in Relation to Walpole's Policy.—Walpole's Relations to George.—Rise of Pitt, and the "Patriot" Malcontents with Walpole, causing Party Politics to be for the Time in Abeyance.—King-Court, People-Parliament and Walpole's Excise.—Supremacy of House of Commons Established under Walpole and Growing Coincidence of the London Season and a Parliamentary Session.—English Foreign Policy in its Relations to English and other European Sovereigns.—The Bourbon Family Contract.—Its Influence on the Temper and Policy of English Court and Crown.—Under George I. and Walpole, House of Commons Attains its Full Character and Permanent Place in English Governments.—The Parliamentary Opposition under Pulteney, its First Great Leader, Finally Recognised as Essential to Parliamentary Government.—Growth of Free Press in its Relations to King and Court.—Walpole's Retirement.—His Exact Place among English Statesmen, and his Personal Relations with George I.—Walpole, though Resigned, Remained a Power.—England, Germany, Maria Theresa, the Pragmatic Sanction and Seven Years' War between Frederick II. of Prussia against Austria, Russia and France from 1756–1763.—George II. as a Soldier.—His Personal Influence in the War.—Oudenarde and Dettingen.—His Successful Tactics at Dettingen.—Signs of Revival of English National Spirit under George II. and Henry Pelham's Government.—Patriotic Enthusiasm of 1744, and George II.'s Share in Producing it.—The Elder Pitt, Lord Chatham, and First Great Struggle between the Hanoverian Dynasty and the Revolution Whig Families.—George II. and his States-

PAGE

men, Pitt, Granville and others.—Recall of the Pelhams.—From 1745–1754 English and General European calm.—Increase in Wealth of England.—George II.'s Reign Favourable for Social and Religious Reform.—Wide-Spreading Influence of Wesley and Whitefield under George II., as in Sixteenth Century so in Eighteenth.—Religious Movement a Preparation for Civil and Religious Reform.—Growth of National Spirit and Feeling Independently of Parliament.—Murray and Parliamentary Privilege.—Popular Feeling against Parliament.—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748; its Effects on Imperial Position of England.—Difference between Empire of Great Britain as the Expression of a Nation's Ambition or Will, and Preceding Empires Established by Individual Conquerors.—Growing Greatness and Power of Pitt, Notwithstanding Unpopularity of the King.—George II. Jealous of Great Ministers, but through all a Promoter of National Revival.—English Patriotism Shown in the Militia Bill.—England and India.—Recovery of English Losses Sustained at Hands of French under Dupleix and Labourdonnais.—Also in America, English Successes against French Colonial Policy.—Military Checks Abroad and Discontent at Home.—Pitt Recognised now by King and Country as the one Man Necessary for England.—Little Attention to Domestic Reform by Parliament.—Growing Gulf between Rich and Poor.—Good Influence of Queen of George II., Caroline of Anspach, in Setting an Example of Earnest Interest in the Popular Welfare.—Instrumental in Securing Office for Walpole.—Walpole and Modern Finance.—Pulteney, Party Government and its Alternatives.—Patronage by George II. of Great Provincial Towns Revives their Prosperity Long Threatened by Increasing Attractions of the London Season and the Parliamentary Session now First Coinciding as to Time.—National Drunkenness.—Its Extent.—Results and Opinions on it of Representative Englishmen under George I. and II.—Growth of Gin-drinking in the Provinces.—Brighter Social

PAGE

Features of Reign.—Growth of Opinion against Drunkenness, against Wrecking in Cornwall, against Fleet Marriages, — the Last Leading up to Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act.—Party Politics.—The Great Families and the Great Ministers under George II. and his Successors..... 218

CHAPTER IX.

THE OPENING OF THE HANOVERIAN ERA.

Walter Savage Landor's Misleading Epigram on the Four Georges.—True Character of these Kings.—George I., his Faults those of his Age, but his Good Sense shown in his Right Estimate of the Relations between Crown, Minister, Parliament and Country.—His Reign a Preparation for the Better Period of his Successor.—How the Very Faults of the Georges, their Indifference to England and Longing after Hanover, were of Constitutional Service.—Points of Similarity between George I. and II. and Walpole.—Contrast between Pitt and Walpole.—Pitt's Anticipation of the National Awakening Prepared for under George II. Completed under George III.—Walpole, Like George I. and II., a Representative of his Age.—George III., like Pitt, a Regenerator of his Age.—George II.'s Sympathy with the Militant Patriotism Characteristic of English Feeling During his Reign.—His Own Services at Dettingen and Oudenarde.—George II.'s Homely Wit.—Specimen.—Causes at Work in England and About to give their Decisive Character to the Nineteenth Century.—George III.'s General Character, his Mixture of Loyalty to Anglican Church and Freedom from all Bigotry.—The Latter Quality Proved by his Sympathy with the Methodists and with John Lancaster, the Nonconformist Educational Reformer.—Early Days of George III.—Influence upon him of his Mother and of Other Educators, Especially Bolingbroke's Writings and Bute.—Ignorance of National and Court Life in which he was Brought up.—Lord

PAGE

Bute, his Personal Accomplishments, Imperfect Knowledge of English Matters and his Unpopularity.—Bute as an Art Connoisseur and Builder of Lansdowne House.—General State of Feeling on George III.'s Accession, and Circumstances Apparently Favourable to his Attack on the Party System.—The Theory Named and Formed of the Constitution on the Side of George III.—Bolingbroke's "Patriot King."—George III.'s Personal Characteristics.—Many of these Modified by the King's Strong Efforts to Counteract them and to Cure some Faults. — Circumstances that Appeared to Favour George III.'s Early Efforts in the Direction of Royal Absolutism.—In his Kingly Policy, Nothing Irrational and Much that the National Temper of the Time Approved.—Real Causes of his Failure in the Part of the Patriot King.—Supremacy of the two Pitts.—George III., the New Bourgeoisie and the Old Aristocracy.—Opportunities of Patriot Kingship Missed by George III., Especially those Arising out of Relations between England and American Colonies.—General Principles of George III.'s Colonial Policy.—Divisions of the Georgian Era with their General Characteristics.—Signs of Improvement in every Department of Life and Thought, at first Slight and Few, but Gradually Increasing in Number and Strength..... 260

CHAPTER X.

KING, COUNTRY AND COLONIES.

George III. and the Cabinet.—Object Aimed at by the King in his Dealings with Ministers.—General Success at first.—Coalition between Fox and North.—The first Serious Check Sustained by the King.—His Deliverance from the Whigs Effected by the Younger Pitt.—Bolingbroke's "Patriot King" Aimed at by George III., an Impracticable Ideal, Because the Part was Pre-occupied first by Lord Chatham, Secondly by his Son, William Pitt,

PAGE

whose Administrations, though Suspending the Party System for a Time, Indicated also the National Ascendency of a Great Minister even over his Sovereign.—General View of George III.'s Relations to Parties and to their Leaders.—The King's Attempt to Emancipate Himself from the Chiefs of any one Political Party, Especially of the Whigs, not Essentially Unreasonable or Desperate, and not in Opposition to Popular Feeling.—George III. Welcomed on his Accession as the first English King of the Hanoverian Line.—The Stuart Pretenders now the only Foreigners.—Stuart Legitimism, However, Still a Force among the Higher Classes and Stuart Partisans well Received at the Court of George III. Himself.—The English Court under George III. a Real Centre of English Life, and so both Representative and Popular.—Horace Walpole on St. James' Palace under George III.—Influence of George III.'s Mother, the Princess of Wales, Unfortunate for the National Position of her Son.—Lord Waldegrave's Estimate Derived from Personal Experience of George III.—Great and Princely Qualities of the King and his Success in Overcoming many of his Constitutional Faults.—Differences between Bolingbroke's and George III.'s Conception of the "Patriot King's" Political Methods.—The Influence Behind the Throne, Admitted by George III., Vitiating the Bolingbrokian Ideal.—Good Beginnings of George III.—Popularity of his Changes in the Position of the Judges.—The Administration in Power on George III.'s Accession on Union between the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt.—Both of these Accounted Whigs, but Pitt, a Seceder from Walpole, and Leader of a Section of Whig Malcontents, Known as the "Patriots" or the "Boys."—Bedford and Grenville Whigs also Represented in Newcastle Government.—George III's Great Qualities, Natural and Acquired.—Points in Common between the Plantagenets and George III.—Rise of Lord Bute in 1761.—Bute's Foreign Policy, its Reversal of Earlier Traditions and Political Practices.—Elimination of Whig Elements

PAGE

from the Administration begins.—Bute, Unpopular from his Scotch Nationality. — General Dislike of Scotchmen by the English of that day Reflected in Smollett's Novels.—The English Aristocracy Resent the Rise of Bute as not Belonging to a Governing Family. —The National Position of Pitt and his Relations with the Government, his Place in which he Resigned. —Difference of Treatment Accorded by the King to Pitt and to the Duke of Newcastle on their Respective Resignation of their Offices.—The Duke of Newcastle's Account.—Supremacy of George III. after Pitt's and the Duke of Newcastle's Withdrawals.—General Results of the Whig Proscription under George III.—But the Royal Victories over Parties, Ministers and Parliament, Apparent rather than Real.—Reason for the National Acquiescence in the King's Treatment of the Whigs to be Found in the Fact that they had not yet, as Advocates of Social or Political Reform, Attached their Countrymen to them.—George III.'s Treatment of the Whigs Really Useful to them, because it Compelled them to Find their Lives among the People, Instead of at Court.—General View of Lord Bute's Rise and Fall, 1782.—Strength of the Feeling against him at its Height in 1762.—Lord Bute after his Resignation Remained a Principal Power.--Dissatisfaction of King with the Grenville Ministry Following Lord Bute and his Impatience of Subsequent Governments.—Constitutional Irresponsibility of M.P.'s to the King for their Parliamentary Speeches or Votes.—How this Principle under George III. was Affected by the Wilkes Case.—Personal Relations between George III. and his Premier Grenville.—Lord Bute Ceases after 1765 to be an Influence behind the Crown, but the Relations between George III. and Ministers Still Unsatisfactory.—George III. as the Symbol of National Union, Supported by the Great Body of his People.—George IV.'s Conception of his Obligation to Maintain National and Imperial Unity Compared with the Work of President Lincoln.—History of English Colonies in America.—Lord North as

PAGE

George III.'s Minister and as an Early Type of a Popular Parliamentary Leader.—Characteristic Anecdotes Illustrative of North.—The Development Traced of the English System of Colonising.—The American Department and those Responsible for it.—Lord George Germain.—Stimulating Effect on Popular Politics of George III.'s Intervention in Politics..... 281

CHAPTER XI.

"THE PATRIOT KING."

Lord North on the Rockingham Administration, which followed his own Resignation.—Prominent Personages in the Court and in Parliament of George III.—The King's Personal Confidants and Negotiators.—Thurlow, Personal Traits, Position in Parliament, in the Bar and on the Bench.—Lord Bathurst.—Lord Rockingham's Death.—Relations of King with Parties and their Leaders, State Parties of themselves on its Occurrence.—Duke of Portland Pressed by Charles Fox and other Whigs upon the King, who, after Rockingham's Death, Sends for Lord Shelburne to Form a Government.—Internal Dissensions Weaken that Government from the First.—Lord Shelburne's Relations with the King and with Contemporary Statesmen.—His Social Eminence, his Political Enlightenment.—His Personal Unpopularity or Failure to Inspire Confidence.—Shelburne Personally Described, Feelings towards him of the King and of Pitt.—Jealousy between Charles Fox and Himself, Especially in the Negotiations for Peace with America.—Possible Explanations of General Feeling against Shelburne.—Fox, having Refused to Serve with Shelburne, Employs his own Representative against Shelburne in the American Peace Negotiations.—Coalition of Fox and North against Shelburne Formed, its Chief Promoters.—Dissatisfaction of American Loyalists with Terms of American Peace, Popular Irritation at General Clauses of Versailles Treaty of 1783 Unites Fox

PAGE

and North in an Attack on Shelburne upon the Peace.—Hostile Vote against Shelburne Carried in the House of Commons.—Coalition Government Formed Nominally under Duke of Portland, but with Fox and North as Real Leaders.—This Coalition not Immoral According to the Use and Standard of the Times, but Scandalises Country.—Legislation Demanded by the State of India.—Indian Retrospect since the Fall of Mogul Empire.—Private Reforms Suggested.—Fox's India Bill Disliked by King and by all those whom it Concerns.—The King Secures its Defeat and the Fall of the Coalition Government.—W. Pitt's Ministry Succeeds.—Pitt's Position with King and Court.—General Character of his Legislation.—His Personality Compared with that of Fox.—The two Men Forced by Circumstances to Political Parts, the Opposite of those for which they Seemed Naturally Adapted.—Pitt's Private Friendship with Dundas, who Possibly Drafted Pitt's India Bill.—Personality of Dundas.—Pitt's first India Bill Rejected.—Growing Popularity of himself and of the King.—Royal and Conservative Triumphs at the General Election.—Pitt's India Bill became Law and Remained Law till 1858.—The King's Illness, Necessity of Regency Bill.—Parts Respectively Played by Pitt and Fox.—The King and his Physicians, Dr. Willis' Treatment, its Success.—The King's Recovery.—Enthusiasm and Joy thereat Pervading all Classes.—George III.'s Unprecedented Popularity.—William Pitt a Popular Idol.—George III.'s Personal Concern in Some of Pitt's Commercial Legislation, *e.g.*, the Laws against Smuggling.—George III. not Unfavourable to Pitt's Financial Reforms, but to his Political for Enlarging the Electoral Franchise.—How the French Revolution and George III.'s Health Influenced the Course of English Legislation.—The Irish Union Act of 1800 not as Pitt Intended, Followed by Catholic Emancipation, because of its Prejudicial Influence on the King's Health.—George III. Finally Incapacitated from Reigning.—Death in 1820..... 325

CHAPTER XII.

CROWN, COURT AND COUNTRY UNDER THE NINETEENTH CENTURY GEORGES.

PAGE

An Afternoon Walk of George III. and his Family at Windsor Described by Miss Burney.—George III.'s Home Life with his Children.—The Duke of York, his Favourite Son.—Princess Amelia, his Youngest and Favourite Daughter, shows her Verses to Mrs. Delany. —The King's Grief at her Early Death and Consequent Effect of it on the King's Health.—The King's Second Illness and Final Retirement from the Crown.—George III.'s Reign, if Politically a Failure, Morally a Success, Added Fresh Ideas to the Popular Conception of the True Kingly Character.—George IV.'s Moral and Political Contrast to his Father.—Possible Reasons for his Dissent from his Father's Political Views.—Exact Difference of View between George III. and the Whigs Crucially Illustrated on Lord Rockingham's Death and Lord Shelburne's Succession as Premier.—The Tories under George III. as a National Party.—Why in 1783 George III. Sent for William Pitt, not Lord Shelburne. —Troubles of George III.'s Later Years.—Margaret Nicholson's Assault, the King's Calmness, but his Nerves Shaken.—Debts of his Son, the Future Regent and George IV., Money Help given Respectively by George III. and Parliament. — Dundas as Intermediary between the Prince, George III. and Parliament. — Temporary Settlement of the Prince's Debts Celebrated by a Carlton House Dinner, at which Dundas Assisted. — George IV.'s Disposition and Experience Contrasted with George III., his Kindness to some Personal Friends, *e. g.*, to Sheridan, also to Flora Macdonald.—Sir John Macpherson's Connection with this Transaction.—George IV. Personally Popular, Especially in London, but National Discontent Shown in Cato Street Conspiracy, etc.—Mrs. Fitzherbert; his other Amours and Queen Caroline, the Queen, before the House of Lords.—Canning's Views on Royal Divorce.—Canning Resigns Board of Control rather

PAGE

than Accept Lord Liverpool's Bill against the Queen.—George IV.'s Regency and Reign, one Period with the same General Results and Relationships between the Crown and Parties.—George IV., Early Whiggism Ended by French Revolution.—Personal Friendship with Leading Whigs Discontinued after the Affair of George IV., Mrs. Fitzherbert and Charles Fox.—George IV. never Really Desired Reconciliation with the Whigs, but was Really as Strongly Tory as his Father.—Later Political Relations between George IV. and Whig Leaders, Lords Grenville and Grey.—Lord Moira Employed by George IV. as Cabinet-maker and Whig Intermediary.—Parliamentary Criticisms, 1820, on Undue Influence of Crown under George IV., but that Influence Steadily Maintained.—Personal Position of George IV. little Affected by Court Scandals and Political Intrigues.—Crown's Prerogative under George IV. Exercised through Court, Instead of Directly as under George III., but Royal Ascendency and Popularity Equally Great under both Kings.—George IV.'s Life and Character Mischievously Affected by his Unhappy Marriage for Political and Pecuniary Reasons.—Castlereagh's Death.—George IV. Accepts Canning first as Foreign Secretary, Afterwards as Premier, but Refuses Catholic Emancipation till Canning Dies and the Duke of Wellington is Premier.—George IV.'s Intellectual Powers, Culture, Sympathies, Interest in Literature, the Drama, Music, etc., his Contributions to the Social Life of England Illustrated by his Patronage of Brighton and the Connection of that with the Opening up of English Seaside Watering Places.—Deeper Political Significance of the Period of George IV.—The Agencies for Later Reforms Called into Existence under that King and his Predecessors.—Wars of Classes and National Discontents..... 382

CHAPTER XIII.

WILLIAM IV.'S PLACE IN ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY.

Preparatory, but Slightly Progressive, Character of the whole Georgian Period.—Contrast between the Acces-

PAGE

sion of George IV. and of William IV., Difference between the Antecedents, the Character and Taste of Each.—Dramatic Transformation Scene from Obscurity and Poverty to Splendour and Wealth Opened to William IV. by his Accession.—Earlier Life of William IV., his Neglect by his Father, because of Reported Ascendency over him of the Future George IV.—William IV.'s Practical Apprenticeship to a Sailor's Life and Active Experiences at Sea.—At first Refused a Peerage by George III., Thinks of Going into the House of Commons as M.P. for Totnes.—Clarence Dukedom Eventually Bestowed upon him.—Different Views as to Origin and Etymology of the Title.—Duke of York Title not Always Reserved for King's Second Son.—Different Territorial Titles given to Sons of English Sovereigns.—William IV., Personal Characteristics, Impressions Produced by him at Beginning of his Reign, his Personal Conduct and Bearing, Maladroitly or Kindly, with Descriptive Anecdotes from Contemporary Sources.—His Windsor Dinner-parties.—His Lavish, but Simple, Hospitalities.—William IV. does not Retrench his Entertainments, but Studies Carefully their Cost; so Escapes Trouble with the House of Commons.—Comparison between the Expenditure and the Civil Lists of the Four Georges and of William IV.—Details as to the Settlement of William IV.'s Civil List.—Failure of Whig and Radical Opposition to Make Political Capital out of the Crown's Expenses under William IV., Notwithstanding that Joseph Hume, above Described, Led the Attack and Introduced Several Reforms in the Keeping of the Government Accounts.—House of Commons Committees Investigate William IV.'s Expenditure, Suggest Reductions which the King Refuses.—William IV.'s Personal Position and Popularity not Affected by these Incidents.—The Whig and Liberal Attack upon Court Expenditure under William IV. Hollow, Insincere, never Seriously Meant.—Shrewdness of the King in Discerning National Temper on these Points and in Maintaining the Crown's Preroga-

PAGE

tive to get in all Business Arrangements his own Way.—Opposition to Pensions, to Court Expenditure, etc., not Seriously Threatened with Whig Opposition to his Civil List, nor his Popularity in the Country Diminished, but the Civil List Question, the Immediate Cause of the House of Commons Defeat Overthrowing the Duke of Wellington's Government.—The Personal Position of the Duke and Causes Affecting his National and Parliamentary Position.—After his Resignation Attempts to Re-establish him in Power; these Originated Probably not with the King, but with the very Conservatives who had Abstained from Supporting the Duke.—The Duke of Buckingham as Negotiator, the Duke of Wellington's Refusal.—William IV.'s Reputed Whig Sympathies early in Life and Favour towards Reformers.—The Progress of the Reform Movement, how Helped on by Foreign Events.—William IV.'s Views about the Reform Bill and its Prospects.—The Bill as Introduced by Lord John Russell Read a Second Time in the House of Commons, by a Majority of one, upset in Committee by General Gascoigne's Amendment.—Dramatic Scenes which Followed, a Race for Time between Lord Wharncliffe and Ministers, Part Played by the King.—William IV.'s Visit to the House of Lords.—The King Crowns himself.—Dissolution by the King, Progress of Reform Bill, Part Played and Views Held by the King.—Personal Relations of the King with Reformers and Anti-Reformers.—His Constitutional Course.—Lord Grey's Garter, the King's Coronation.—The King's Economical Views of the Function, Success of the Ceremony, Absentees from it.—The Duchess of Kent, Relations between her and the Reigning Sovereigns.—Reform again.—William IV. as Head of Fashionable Society, his Patronage of Music.—A Great Musical Festival and who Assisted at it.—A Dinner-party at St. James' Palace, King Proposes Toast in French Speech, Dismays his Ministers, Astonishes the Corps Diplomatique.—First Reform Parliament, William IV.'s Opening Speech.—Social and Political

PAGE

Reawakening of Parliament after 1832.—Abolition of Slavery, Factory and Pauperism Reform, the Political Movement Originally Helped by William IV., Instrumental in these Results and not Interfered with by the King's Later Quarrels with his Whig Ministers. — William IV.'s Conception of his Relations to Parties and to the Country, his Belief in the Growing Conservative Reaction Perhaps Explanatory of his last Exercises of Prerogative, in the Way Hostile to Lord Melbourne as Lord Grey's Successor.—William IV.'s last Illness and Death, "the Sun of Waterloo," the New Reign begun..... 431

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

Special Interest Excited by the Princess Victoria's Prospect of Inheriting the Crown.—Comparison between the Princess, as Heiress-Apparent, and Earlier Queens, whose Influence and Qualities, Transmitted to their Latest Posterity, are Still Visible in the Members of our Royal Family.—The Princess Victoria's Parentage and Parents.—Unhappy Home Life of her Father, the Duke of Kent, his Harsh Treatment by his Father, George III., and by his Tutor at Hanover.—His Devotion to his Daughter Victoria; her first Proposed Baptismal Name, how Victoria was Eventually Chosen; the Christening at her Birthplace, Kensington Palace.—The Duke of Kent's Health Sends the Family to Sidmouth, Devonshire. — The Duke's Fondness for his Daughter Partly Responsible for his Death from Inflammation of the Lungs.—The Pecuniary Position in which the Duke of Kent's Death Leaves the Duchess and her Daughter. — King William IV., Conduct towards them; Recognition of the Princess Victoria as his Successor; Establishment of the Princess and her Mother at Kensington Palace. — Early Life there of the Princess with her Mother. — Sympathetic Qualities of the Princess shown in her Attendance upon the Duke of York During his last Illness, as upon Other and Humbler Invalids; thus the Girl, the Mother of the Woman, who Became "the

PAGE

Mother of her People."—How the Virtue of Humility was Inculcated upon the Youthful Princess.—Girlish Traits and Anecdotes, Impressions of the Future Queen and her Education Formed by Sir Walter Scott and other Early Visitors to the Duchess and her Daughter at Kensington Palace.—Relations between the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Victoria and King William IV.—The Queen's Sad Childhood.—Birthday Dinner given by William IV., his After-Dinner Speech, "C'est Très Remarquable," Think the Ambassadors.—The Princess Victoria's First Public Appearance as Heiress to Crown, her Coming of Age, her Progresses throughout England and Gradual Introduction to Public Life.—William IV. Dies, his Funeral and the Incidents Connected with it, as Shown in Contemporary Accounts.—Queen Victoria, her formal Accession and the Circumstances Attending it.—Her first Council.—Early Days as Queen.—Influence upon her of her Uncle, King Leopold of Belgium, and of Lord Melbourne.—Daily Routine at Court.—From First, Queen Acts and Thinks for herself.—Court Ceremonies Culminating in Coronation Pageant.—Early Relations of Queen with Parties and their Leaders.—Sir Robert Peel, Lord Melbourne and the Bedchamber Plot.—Neither Peel's nor the Queen's View Unreasonable.—Final Settlement of the Household Question.—Queen Feels Need of Permanent Counsellor and Husband, but Delays Final Choice.—King Leopold as a Royal Matchmaker.—The Queen Announces her Engagement to Prince Albert.—General Reception of News, the Wedding Ceremony, Early Married Life.—The Victoria Court as a Centre of the Higher Life of the Nation.—The Crown Still a Political Power, as Shown in the Case of Lord Palmerston.—Later Instances of the Royal Prerogative, More or Less Actively Exercised. — Imperial Character of Reign, Concurrently with this, the Crown Strengthened as a Social Power, as Worn by Victoria becomes a World-wide Force for Social and Moral Good.—Unity of the Empire, Retrospect of the Ground Traversed in Preceding Pages and General Summary of Results Arrived at. 483

CHAPTER XV.

FROM NINETEENTH TO TWENTIETH CENTURY SOVEREIGNTY.

PAGE

Queen Victoria's Death Renders Necessary some Supplementary Words.—Death of Queen Victoria Contrasts with that of her Predecessors not less than did her Life.—Detailed Instances of this.—Sincerity a Virtue, Distinctive of the Later as Opposed to the Earlier Hanoverians.—Queen Victoria's Wealth, Fact and Fiction.—The Exact Figures.—The Civil List and its Changes.—Concerning Coronations.—Probable Date of that of Edward VII.—This King, though not Reigning till the Twentieth Century, a Typical Product of the Nineteenth Century.—Special Instances of this Truth.—Identification of British Sovereignty with the Chief Forces of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, the Special Work of King Edward VII..... 557

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS IN THE CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

THE DAWN OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY IN ENGLAND.

"Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds; but Harry, Harry."
—*Henry* IV., Act V., ii.

It is easy to detect flaws in Shakespeare's history; to find anachronisms and confusions in the language of his personages, under the walls of Troy, on English as on Roman battlefields, in the Forum of the city of the Cæsars, or in the Parliament Houses on the Thames.

Sometimes it must be admitted the national poet gets off the right historical track. He represents John of Gaunt as the typical English patriot instead of the self-seeking and unscrupulous aristocrat which the authentic records of his age show that able Plantagenet prince to have been. But the genius of the English monarchy could not be more faithfully epitomised than in the historical plays. The general results of the vicissitudes survived by the British crown are summed up in the familiar words taken from the drama that the poet obviously designed as

an introduction to his picture of the full-orbed glories of the English crown worn by Henry V.

To reconcile with the supremacy of representative institutions the position of an hereditary first magistrate is the problem whose solution has filled the centuries since English kingship was first named. The movement, slow in itself, has been subject to periodical reactions. The constitutional results of whole periods must be compared if we are to see, notwithstanding delays and retrogressions, the steady advance of English sovereignty towards its nineteenth century form. Unconditioned by democratic precautions or popular restraints, hereditary kingship is scarcely of European growth. In aristocratic Spain, if anywhere, such a polity might be looked for. Hallam has conclusively established the consent of the Cortes of the kingdom to have been the foundation of Aragonese or Castilian monarchy.* In Anglo-Saxon England the Witan always confirmed the accession of a king; in several cases presently to be mentioned it also elected him. The later course of English constitutional history, compared with that of Continental Europe, shows the difference between the relations to their parliamentary estates of French or Spanish, and of English sovereigns respectively.

In England the alliance of the smaller barons first with the knights of the shire and later with the town burgesses, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, was a characteristic feature in the growth of the English Constitution. The estate of the Commons in Continental Europe degenerated first into a body of court nominees; later it ceased to have any

* See the opening pages of *Middle Ages*, II., with circumstantial proofs of these constitutional details.

independent existence; because, for example, in Spain, the commons were not, as in England, from their early days closely associated with the territorial principle. Gradually the English shire knights united and identified themselves with the town burgesses. These had risen to importance soon after the two Houses sat separately under Edward III. Their power increased together with the nation's commercial growth. The shire knights, embodying the territorial principle, organized the popular House. The urban and commercial auxiliaries were useful. Without the territorial leadership and influence the victory of the Commons over the Crown could not, in the seventeenth century, have been won.

The issues of the struggle between the baronial reformers and the early Plantagenets resembled to some extent and so foreshadowed the object and the ending of the later contests, to which the parties were, between 1603 and 1688, the Stuarts and their people, or in the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth centuries, the Hanoverian Kings and the embryo democracy. Only by slow degrees did events, more powerful than parliamentary struggles or individual leaders, teach the masses the lesson of self-discipline. Then at last the democracy, long aimless, perplexed and uncertain, acquired consistency and definiteness of aim.

Whether the fight was that, which, in the south, ended on the field of Lewes, or that which in the north left Cromwell conqueror at Naseby, the prize contended for was the same,—the control of the Executive. If the later English sovereigns had not departed from the practice of their more moderate predecessors, the parliament in vain might have appealed to the people against the crown.

The elective character of the early English kingship is seen in the steps by which Alfred the Great mounted the throne of his grandfather, Egbert. Egbert, a West Saxon Prince, by overcoming successively the Mercians and Northumbrians, brought the whole of England under his rule. Egbert was thus the titular founder of the English monarchy. His son and successor, Ethelwulf, induced the Witenagemot not only to ratify the consolidation of seven kingdoms into one, but so to divert the succession from the strictly hereditary line that the crown might come to Ethelwulf's youngest son Alfred, who from his youth had shown marked fitness for the work of sovereignty. To secure that end the descendants of Ethelwulf's eldest son were formally disinherited. The crown was settled upon the younger sons in turn, until at last it should come to the youngest, Alfred—the first moral founder and pattern for all time of English kingship.

Generally, two movements of an opposite kind may be seen in the evolution of the pre-Norman kingship. One of these is the concentration of the scattered and independent kingdoms under a single supreme ruler. The other is the encouragement given to existing varieties of municipal government. The work of concentration was first accomplished by Egbert, who, as we have already seen, made himself the geographical author of the English monarchy. The royal dignity became more august even and imperial in the person of Edred, who signalised his short reign (946--955) by adding to the style of King of the Anglo-Saxons, the title of the Cæsar of Britain. Other indications of the Witan's authority over a *de jure* and *de facto* king are not wanting. At Edred's death the crown went to Edwy, the elder

son of Edmund, who had reigned between 940–946. This monarch, in a fit of boyish petulance, absented himself from the irksome ceremonial that was to precede the actual occupation of his throne. It was the Witan, rather than members of the royal family, whose authority was now interposed to secure the presence of the new sovereign at the function; the man to whom the Witan entrusted this business was none other than the first, and, of the early ecclesiastical statesmen, the greatest, Archbishop Dunstan.

During the confusions and troubles of the period of Danish ascendency, the prerogative of the crown is exercised in subjection to the control of the Witenagemot. The series of battles between Canute and the second Edmund came to a close in the encounter which takes its name from Assandun in Essex. The campaign would have been prolonged had not the Assembly interposed its authority, securing peace by the arrangement that nominally divided the kingdom into Wessex with East Anglia for Edmund, and Mercia with Northumbria for Canute as under-king. Whether Edmund possessed the great qualities evidently seen in him by the nation's king-makers can only be conjectured, because within a few weeks of these events he died.

During the Norman period, the Witenagemot subsisted with a change of name rather than of functions.* As the great court or council, it advised the crown; its consent was preliminary to the beginning of every new reign; it regulated the succession. In all legal documents of the period, the first William ruled not by right of conquest, but as the successor of Edward the Confessor. The national con-

* Bishop Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I. 268, 356.

sent which sanctioned the royal sequence, in the Saxon period, was equally indispensable to the establishment of the Norman Conqueror.

The evolution of English sovereignty in its popular aspects is tolerably continuous. The prerogative derived by the earliest kings from their people involves those pretensions, whose practical re-assertion in later ages caused the country to pass through revolutionary periods. Thus in the relations of Church and State as defined by the first William was implied that superiority of the secular over the clerical power, which between five and six centuries later was expressed by Parliament in the statutes repudiating every form of the Papal supremacy. The Norman king, throughout his many transactions with the great Hildebrand, Gregory VII., refused to acknowledge his tenure of England as a fief of the Papal See. In all matters the king declared he would follow the practice of his predecessors; therefore the Papal power over the English Church was not absolute, but limited and conditional; hence, in case of a disputed election to the Chair of St. Peter, the only Vicar of Christ to be recognized in England, was he whom the king should favour. As a guarantee that Papal edicts should not interfere with the royal decree, no Bull from Rome was to be received in England without the approval of the crown; so, too, without that same approval the clergy could not meet in council, nor could any canons be enacted for ecclesiastical discipline. Finally, the king's officials, or liegemen, apart from the expressed sanction of the crown, not only were exempt from sentence of excommunication, but from the moral cognisance of the ecclesiastical courts.*

* The details of the relations between Church and State

William the Conqueror, 1086, summoned all freeholders to his court at Salisbury. Here they heard the duties attached to their property, as returned in Domesday Book; they then took the oath of allegiance immediately to the king. Thus in the Norman era English feudalism was so modified as to promote direct relations, unknown abroad, between sovereign and subject. Elsewhere in Europe, the freeholder's oath of allegiance was not to his king, but to his feudal lord. In England, feudalism affected land-tenure rather than government principles. Some have found the beginnings of a parliamentary system in William's recourse to men, chosen from the inhabitants of his conquered realm, to inform their new sovereign of local practices and customs recognized by the law of the land. That was enquiry rather than representation. We have already seen that the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemot lived politically, though under another name, through all these vicissitudes. As a national council its functions were discharged throughout the Anglo-Norman, as they had been throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. The feudal nobility of England differed from that of France in never having been a compact and exclusive caste. The social fusion between the English barons and their untitled fellow-subjects was the work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Between the smaller nobles and the knights the distinction was always slight; it became more shadowy still when, under Henry III., there began between barons and crown the struggle for controlling the executive. That contest might

in England promoted by the Conqueror's legislation are briefly but fully and clearly given in Ransome's *History of England*, p. 97.

not have ended so early as it did, in the victory of the reforming oligarchs, unless the barons had received the help of those knights of the shire who, before the burgesses had yet made good their position, were making themselves the nucleus and the backbone of the popular House. The modifications devised by the Conqueror in continental feudalism favoured the growth of representative institutions because they made the aristocracy a popular order rather than an exclusively privileged caste. The impress of the will and character of the individual sovereign upon his epoch is quite as much characteristic of English kingship, as its constitutional checks. When the Conqueror exacted the oath of allegiance immediately to himself under Old Sarum hill, he had prepared an enduring contribution to the polity that only his late descendants were to see.

Not only the events which are historic landmarks, but the humbler incidents of the reigns following that of the first William, serve to illustrate the tendencies, observed in the dawn of English history. William himself never regarded his English crown as unconditionally hereditary. To his eldest son he left as birthright Normandy and Maine; for the reversion of the higher honour of the English throne, he selected his second son, of his own name, not indeed absolutely, but in a letter of commendation to his Archbishop Lanfranc. The ecclesiastic, it might have been supposed, would have poured the sacred oil upon his patron's nominee, and at once proclaimed William Rufus the successor of the Conqueror by right divine. Lanfranc, however, did nothing of the sort. In an assembly which, it was specially explained, constituted a real Witenagemot, the magnates of the land were convened; Rufus was

nominated by the primate; after he had given certain constitutional pledges, he was voted to the vacant throne.

Rufus died suddenly. The only son of the Conqueror born after Hastings, the future Henry I., was expected to make a bold bid for the succession. Henry had always lived in England; he had shown great aptitude for affairs, civil and military. Immediately on his brother's death in the neighbouring New Forest, he did as a fact ride to Winchester and seize the treasury. In the case of the crown, no such summary capture could, he knew, be successful. The rivalry of his brother Robert and the growing power of the barons made a constitutional title and the support of a national party indispensable. Henry therefore himself at once called together the Witenagemot, declared against the most autocratic and, as a natural consequence, the least popular of all the barons; issued a Charter of Liberties, and secured the support of the Church by recalling Anselm from exile. In the first State document appearing under the new king's name, the crown is claimed by Henry, not as a family right, but as conferred upon him by the Common Council of the barons of the realm. Consistently resolved to perpetuate English kingship for his direct descendants, Henry I. never relaxed his efforts to associate his family name with a policy above all things popular. To strengthen himself, he relied, not upon the armed retainers of his great barons, but on the prosperity of the country, and the consequent good-will of his subjects. Thus under the penultimate Norman king, Henry I., the foundations were laid of the foreign trade and of the

commercial towns * at home which were to be the central objects of the earlier Plantagenets in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

There are few periods of English mediæval history which may not be regarded as a prophecy of some later epoch, that will show the fuller development of the principles contained in the earlier era. In much later times we shall see how under the Georges the discussions on the Regency arrangements turn upon analogous situations, produced by the mistakes and failures of the second Edward in the earlier decades of the fourteenth century, and by the deposition of Richard II. two or three generations later.

In all seasons of popular discontent with English royalty, the first complaint is not directly with the throne, but with some power behind the throne, using the sovereign for sinister purposes and anti-national ends. During the eventful period that comprised Montfort's leadership of the baronial oligarchy against the king, the defeat with the capture of Henry III. and the assemblage of the Three Estates at Westminster, the gravamen of the charge against Henry is not that he himself violates his oath of fidelity to his people, but that his foreign kinsmen and courtiers occupy, alike in the country and the royal affection, places which should be filled by his own English-born subjects. The possession of the fortified castles at different points throughout the land by aliens in race, religion, and interest; the evil ascendency acquired by these strangers over the administration and the monarch of the realm: such is the ever-recurring refrain of the popular cry which found its most powerful expression in

* The commercial aspect of Henry I.'s administration are well brought together in Ransome's *History*, p. 119.

the language and the career of Simon de Montfort. Of that cry, echoes are audible in the rude ballads of the period which lately have been rescued from oblivion.*

A century passes; nearly the same experience recurs. Upon no other portion of his policy had William the Conqueror expended greater care than the reduction to impotence alike of the great Anglo-Saxon earldoms which he found existing, and of the peerages which he himself created as rewards for his followers. In both cases precautions were taken against the concentration into a single hand of vast estates adjoining each other. In this way feudalism was practically disarmed; while, as has been already said, this very process prepared the way for those political movements which thereafter were to render it possible for shire knights and town burgesses to make common cause with not a few of the nobility in resisting the prerogative claimed by the Stuarts. The fourth Plantagenet, Henry III., in his peevish jealousy of great men among his subjects, in his promises given without responsibility, evaded, ignored or violated without scruple, might almost be described as a Stuart born out of due time. But national protests, still more ominous against the system of court favourites, were reserved for the reign of Edward II. That king, while lacking the intellect of his father, and the personal religion, perverted and unprofitable though it often was, of his grandfather, had accomplishments which dazzled his people, and personal qualities that won the affection

* Specimens of the poetry here referred to, fill volumes of the *Master of the Rolls Series*, and at length sufficient to give a fair idea of them, will be found in the appendices to Mr. G. W. Prothero's Monograph on Montfort.

of some of his courtiers. His constitutional doom was sealed by his addiction to associates of names familiar to every child who has read his history primer. The consequence of the third Henry's partiality for foreigners was seen in the arrangement which, completed in 1258 at Oxford, transferred the administration from the king to a committee of twenty-four. That transaction was destined to be the precedent for a like curtailing of the prerogative of the second Edward in 1310. The Great Council held at Westminster in that year left this sovereign no alternative between moral self-effacement or formal abdication. He chose the former; by doing so he placed his monarchy in commission. Control of the executive departed from Edward II. when his follies and failures constrained him to accept the Lords Ordainers as the practical administrators of his kingdom.

Such, in the fourteenth century, are the instances of royal failure to learn anything worth remembering, and to unlearn things to be forgotten which, during the three centuries following, was alleged alike against Stuarts and Bourbons. Mr. John Bright had so entirely outlived his early democratic associations as, by those who were once his bitterest opponents, to be considered a real conservative force. "Queen Victoria," he said, "the most exactly truthful person I ever met, avoided from the first all risk of the Stuart reproach."

The second Edward and the second Richard are separated by some threescore and ten years. Even at that interval, the warning force of the earlier example would only have been lost upon one for whom history existed not. If ever man persisted in driving for the precipice amid universal cries of the

peril to which he hastened, it was the last of the Plantagenet line.

In a primitive and very imperfect fashion, but still in an appreciable degree, public opinion in the days of Richard II. was beginning to find an organized expression. The poems of Gower, Chaucer and Langland remain the most faithful mirrors of the fourteenth century. Gower's tone is eminently aristocratic, monarchical, anti-democratic, anti-revolutionary. Every line bearing on these subjects which has come down to us shows in fact Gower to have been as strongly conservative as the brilliant writer, who in 1899 is Poet Laureate of England, Mr. Alfred Austin. Chaucer, to a less extent than Gower, reflects the politics of his period. But if Gower is generally royalist, Chaucer, where he approaches the subject, explicitly and emphatically writes as a king's man. The examples of Dante, of Spenser, of Byron, might seem to warrant the generalization that most of the greatest poets the world has known have been active politicians as well. The party politics of Chaucer, so far as concerns their expression, must have been confined to the speeches he may possibly have made in the House of Commons as member for Kent. Either some family connection with that county, or, as is perhaps more probable, some official position due to his favour at court, and bringing him into close connection with Greenwich, caused the poet to be chosen one of the shire knights (in modern phrase county M.P.'s) for the province whose modern fame rests on its hop gardens and its cricketers. John of Gaunt would not have been the patron of the writer of the *Canterbury Tales* unless he had showed himself true in spirit to the court, his pensions from which placed Chaucer beyond the want that a mere

poet might have felt. The "Parliament of Fowls" might from its title be expected to prove a burlesque of the popular Chamber which during the Middle Ages held its sittings not at St. Stephen's, but in the Chapter House, Westminster. So remote from affairs of human state seems that composition as to contain no specific allusions even to the diplomatic employments which had so long occupied the writer, in foreign capitals and courts. But though Chaucer did not contribute to the political poetry of his day, his writings are yet not without evidence of the direction in which his political sympathies mightgenerally be found. Thus in the "Nun's Priest's Tale," his tone towards Jack Straw and his company is contemptuous.* Again, the "Clerk's Tale" contains an addition, specifically assigned in the margin to Chaucer, in which scorn is still more bitterly vented on the rabble.† Yet the most famous of the poets living under Richard II., and attached alike by personal sympathy and pecuniary interest to the court, becomes unwontedly serious, when after the ballad, "Lack of Steadfastness," in the "L'Envoy to King Richard," he implores that prince to love truth and other virtues.‡

The accession, on Edward III.'s death, of Richard II. was noticeable for two things. The new King was only a boy of eleven. But the popularity of his father, the Black Prince (the steadfast friend as John of Gaunt had been the unscrupulous foe of popular government), caused the crown to be placed by acclamation on the child's head, and constitutes the most important declaration yet seen of the idea

* See Globe Edition, p. 139, col. 6.
† Globe Edition, p. 200.
‡ Globe Edition, p. 631.

of hereditary right. Such was the personal affection won for the young sovereign by his auspicious parentage that his mere presence stilled one of the tumults raised by Wat Tyler. Edward III., during his minority, though his uncle was living, had indeed been allowed to come to the throne. With that exception no one under the family circumstances of Richard II. had ever, as a mere child, actually reigned.

But the last of the Plantagenets was destined to squander alike the royal revenues and the popular affection. It was of Richard II. that Hampden had been thinking when he warned Charles I. that never yet had king gone about to break parliament without himself being broken by it. By the middle of the fourteenth century, the House of Commons had become the real ruler of the realm. The vicissitudes which had marked the struggle for the executive, though not finally at a close, were suspended on the understanding that, as the second Edward had been constrained to admit, with the elected of the people there should rest control not only of the purse, but both in their selection and in their policy of the king's ministers themselves.

Yet this was the body which the young king in the infatuation of infancy challenged to a struggle that must have ended either in the effacement of representative government or in the temporary destruction of monarchy. The genius of English sovereignty; its essentially popular and largely elective character; the whole course of the relations during the three centuries between crown and subjects;—these should have warned the young Plantagenet against rashly entering upon the contest which, with so light a heart, he provoked. That parliament ex-

ceeded the functions reposed in it by constitutional tradition, in requiring the royal consent to place the monarchy in commission, may be true. That excess might plead some justification in the fact that King Richard's predecessors generally for the ratification of their authority had looked not to family title deeds, but to the approval of Witenagemot or national council as the embodiment of the sovereign people.

The state paper in which parliament recorded the deposition of the king contained thirty-three specific reasons for that decision. For the present purpose they may be regarded as condensed and epitomised into the king's pretensions alone to have the power of changing and framing the law of the land as well as in the last resort of disposing of his subjects' lands, tenements, goods, and chattels.* In the captivity following his dethronement, he who by his own act had ceased to be king was to die. In some riots a little earlier at Bristol, heads had been broken and blood shed. With these exceptions, the constitutional revolution of 1399 was attended with as little loss of life as that which made Edward III. king, and less perhaps than was involved in the transfer three hundred years later of the crown of the Stuarts to William of Orange. Yet most of Richard II.'s difficulties were inherited; before the swift deterioration of his character set in, he could not, like Edward II., have been called worthless. The earlier Plantagenet in fact fell because he had in him too little of the king. The cause of the overthrow of the last Plantagenet was his determination to create that for which no English precedent existed,

* The contents of this famous instrument of deposition are conveniently analysed on p. 293, Ransome's *History of England.*

an absolute, hereditary monarchy. In this attempt Richard the Second began by first ignoring and then defying the spirit and the institutions of representative government, that with varying degrees of force, not exactly in the same years, but within the same mediæval period, were asserting themselves in the Third Estate of France, in the Cortes of the several Spanish kingdoms, and in the English House of Commons at Westminster.

The short autocratic term of pre-Tudor kingship ends with the accession of the Lancastrian line,—Henry IV., 1399. The Tudor princes reigned absolutely; they recognized the national approval as a necessary condition of their power. Thus, since the end of the fourteenth century, the crown has never entirely disregarded its subjects' pleasure. Whether if Richard II., in addition to those personal graces and accomplishments which his successor so signally lacked, had been endowed with Henry IV.'s strong and great personal qualities, his force of character and self-restraint, the Plantagenet dynasty might not have been prolonged is an old speculation. Henry of Lancaster became the head of the English state because he accepted the position of being its chief servant,—titularly indeed the master of his men with whom he was associated, but in effect their colleague, and the worker who was chiefly to pull the labouring oar. The strong active form, with little grace, but immense vigour in its movements; the shoulders those of a Hercules, the square face, the strong and heavy jaw framed by the thick beard; the brusque, but not consciously discourteous, Anglo-Saxon manner, the immense power of work, mental and physical, enabling him, as it seemed, to pass his days in the saddle, his nights over his state papers;—these

are the chief traits in that Lancastrian sovereign, who, like his descendants, was to hold his sceptre on the only terms which can ever constitute a safe tenure for English monarchy. That title is, in fact if not in name, the acknowledgment by the English Commons of the personal fitness of each succeeding sovereign for his place. Not indeed as yet expressly or in any legal terms, but still in tones clear beyond the risk of mistake, and in their import irrevocable, is enunciated under the first Lancastrian king that doctrine of ministerial responsibility which is of itself a guarantee against arbitrary kingship. The supremacy, executive not less than legislative, of the House of Commons; the organization of that assembly not merely as the ruler but the reflection of the sense of the country;—all these things, if in 1399 they had not actually begun, are prefigured as about to be secured between king and people. The council of the king, out of which grew the modern Privy Council, remained, in 1404, a power collateral with the elective Chamber. The moral and practical subordination of the more kingly to the more popular body is shown by the fact that in the year just named the king received into his council twenty-two members who were in effect nominees of the House of Commons. The Civil List arrangements which exist to-day; the subjection of the royal household to the control of the popularly supported minister; the transformation of the House of Commons into a national committee permanently sitting at Westminster;—these are among the essentially modern changes coincident with the Lancastrian *régime*. The House of Commons had indeed long claimed to be, had sometimes actually proved, the supreme power not only in taxation, but in imperial policy.

Under the Lancastrian dynasty, representative government really became an institution. It was indeed to be attacked, weakened, for the time overthrown by later kings, but these checks to popular political progress were to be only the incidents of the hour.

During more than a hundred years the borough members representing commercial towns had been recognised as an element not less essential to the House of Commons than the county M.P's—always the historic nucleus of the assemblage. Even to the present moment a tradition of a social superiority over town members clings to those who represent counties. In a country where the territorial principle is of such strength as in England, that must always be the case. Under the Lancastrian kings this superiority began to be a sentiment rather than a fact. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, which saw Henry of Lancaster king of England, permanent control by any other body than the Commons over finance ceases. The political advance, promoted by Henry IV.'s personal temper and taste, exerted an influence, affecting the whole national life. The Houses sat regularly at Westminster. The session gradually prepared the way for the season. The regard of the popular House for the morals of its members amidst the temptations of London life, shown by many discussions at Westminster, during this period, suggests a resemblance between Lancastrian London of the fifteenth century and Victorian London of the nineteenth. The capital had in fact become a place of pleasure as well as of business. St. James' * and Pall Mall had yet to become royal

* St. James, before 1066, a hospital for leprous sisters, came to the Crown in 1532, was made a royal palace by Henry VIII.

or fashionable precincts. Belgravia and May Fair were much later growths. But under the Lancasters men were eager for seats in the House of Commons for social as well as for political reasons. The House was not yet furnished with the conveniences of a club; it was the most central and convenient lounge where its frequenters were sure of hearing early all the news of the day. During the period of the Henrys the parliamentary sessions were often of modern length. Before the longest parliament under Henry VIII. was held sessions of three and even six months were not unknown. This custom, first established under the kings of the House of Lancaster, had matured the nation's innate fitness for self-government. The long struggle with the Stuarts came. Led by Eliot and Pym, the Commons gradually advanced to a victory, that, often seeming doubtful, was always assured. More important still, and more ominous of the coming supremacy of State over Church to be established by Henry VIII., were the motions, or, as they were then technically called, petitions, directed by the Lower House against the wealth and authority of the supremely privileged class in the realm, the clergy. Three years before his death Henry IV. had exercised an Erastian influence on the Commons. A measure, strongly recommended by him, would have confiscated the property of bishops and religious corporations. The funds thus set free would have endowed 15 earls, 1,500 knights, 6,000 esquires, 100 hospitals. The balance would have relieved the royal revenue to the extent of £20,000 a year. Modern history is not indeed generally accounted to begin till 1500, when the

Pall Mall, from the scene of the French game paille-maille, 1621, first became fashionable under Charles I.

seventh Henry sat on the throne. But as the reigns of that king's predecessors draw to a close, notes announcing the advent of the modern spirit, and its expression in politics and legislation, as well as in the casual talk of men, become daily more audible and more frequent. Eminently modern, too, even under the first of the Lancasters, is the parliamentary temper towards all religious matters. The fragmentary records of House of Commons speeches, equally under Henry IV. and those of his line who succeeded him, as well as the dealings with the Lollards sanctioned by parliament, show the assembly to have lacked decided preference for one sect or doctrine over another. That is the characteristic of the popular House as the nineteenth century knows it. In these matters the king whom Shakespeare has taken as a type of patriot monarch and hero, Henry V., summed up in his own person the ideas of his age. That king was, without respect of persons, anxious to do right for small as well as great; he supported the Lollards as mere church reformers; he adopted their suggestion for reducing clerical fees, and for compelling the residence of parochial clergy. But when these same Lollards were reputed to be implicated in political plots against the dynasty or the realm, he suffered himself to be carried by the wave of feeling that demanded the punishment of seditious religionists.

Before the greatest of the Tudor kings mounted the throne, one predecessor of his house had done something towards impressing upon the parliamentary franchise of the country some of the features it retained till the Reform Act of 1832. Under Edward III. and Richard II. the partiality of the sheriffs, in whose hands the elections largely were, had

been frequently complained of. Not till Henry VII. or VIII. was any attempt made radically to deal with the abuse. Then for the first time drastically was enforced the statute that the election of county members should be in the hands of all freeholders of property worth forty shillings a year; that attempts to intimidate voters at county courts should be severely punished, and that the sheriff himself was bound to take cognizance of anything like intimidation and to report it to the king's council. If, therefore, full effect had been given to the personal policy of Henry VII. and VIII., the election of county and borough M.P.'s would have been as much the free act of the constituents as had the secrecy of the ballot already protected the voters. Finally, into the hands of the popular representatives thus chosen there now passed the initiative of proceeding against obnoxious ministers. With the approval of a Chief Lord of the Council, ominously named Cromwell, the Commons in 1450 impeached Suffolk. By doing so they robbed the Lancasters of the most able of their practical statesmen, as Sir John Fortescue was the most learned of their constitutional jurists. The short-lived Yorkist dynasty, beginning with Edward IV. in 1461 and ending with Richard III. in 1485, was not of much parliamentary importance or legislative fruitfulness. Those who remember that which the novelist considered one of his masterpieces, the *Last of the Barons,* and who have looked into the authorities out of which was wrought Bulwer Lytton's carefully constructed romance, know the reign of Edward IV. to hold an important place in those episodes of which consists the evolution of the popular conception of English sovereignty. The Earl of March, known to history as Edward IV., was the

first to illustrate the personal fascination of the monarch for all classes of his urban subjects.* Edward's social vices almost passed for royal virtues. Charm of manner and quick intelligence produced amongst Londoners the dynastic reaction, which crowned with success tactics denounced as impracticable four months earlier. His own stroke of state placed him on the throne, March 9, 1461. This unconstitutional king omitted, however, no constitutional form. Bishop Neville of Exeter, speaking in Clerkenwell Fields, commended the Yorkist chief to the army. With that episcopal nominator were Archbishop Bourchier, the Earl of Norfolk, William Neville, Lord Falconbridge. These organized a popular meeting; this was convened in the earlier constitutional form observed with the earlier Witenagemot, or national council. The Yorkist usurper could therefore claim to be as popularly chosen a king as Alfred or any of his successors. The new king did not indeed summon parliament. Nor did any party in the nation even suggest that he should do so. Like Henry VII. or the Stuarts, Edward IV. aimed at managing his subjects directly and not through their representatives. He bated nothing of the pride of royal state; he aimed consistently at being a bourgeois king, paying friendly visits to his more important London subjects, especially to the goldsmiths, who were in effect the bankers of the city, and the well-to-do tradesmen of the Strand. In this way the king himself played the part of court almoner and tax collector. The spirit, if not the letter of the example was to be followed by his successors, and the policy

* His handsome face secured for him whatever sums of money he wanted when his own tax collectors had been sent away empty-handed.

of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. in dealing directly with their more important subjects, perhaps even a like method pursued by the Stuart kings, owed something in idea to the practice introduced by Edward IV. The two or three months during which the throne was filled by Edward V. are noticeable for the present purpose because they began with an emphatic and explicit assertion of the hereditary quality of English kingship. Edward I., as has been already said, was the first king whose reign is held to have begun from the hour of his predecessor's death. The doctrine that while the individual dies, the magistracy is immortal, was again to be illustrated on the 9th April, 1483. On that day, without any elective ceremonial, the Great Council at once proclaims Edward V. at the age of thirteen heir and king. The sequel is to be one for which earlier experience has prepared us. The "power behind the throne" is first to excite vague dissatisfaction, gradually becoming more and more articulate. Edward IV.'s wife had belonged to the Woodville family. Of this marriage Edward V. was born. The late king had given his wife's relations high promotion to counterbalance the powerful Nevilles. The new sovereign therefore could not but seem the symbol of a faction. His short reign was a series of family intrigues for possessing and influencing the crowned boy. The familiar cry of a particular house ruining the country arose again. The unpopularity of the Woodvilles paved the way for the protectorate of the Duke of Gloucester. Eventually the jealousy of the interloping family won success for the Gloucester faction. As Edward IV. came to his crown by the simple process of seating himself before Towton fight in the marble Chair of State, so by a repetition of that one

ceremony was Richard III. proclaimed king. The episode is not without its significance in this general review. It shows that, while in principle always and in practice often, English sovereignty was elective as well as hereditary, the conservative instincts of the English people prompted them to accept—as an alternative to national disorder—the *de facto* king even though he lacked any rightful title. Whether the period be ancient, mediæval or modern, whether it be a sovereign who mounts the throne or a statesman who has climbed to power, the English people are always ready to be led by a group of active and able men like the oligarchy which set the crown on the head of Richard III. Personal or party preferences are laid aside; the man of the moment is acquiesced in, even though he be of inferior qualifications, if he promise an escape from anarchy with a fair prospect of efficiency as well. The accession of Richard III. was, from the point of view of strict legitimists, as much an usurpation as at a later date was to be the coronation of William III., or the Hanoverian accession. The earlier change moved no more resistance than did the later. In the same spirit do Englishmen now uncomplainingly accept the transfer by the constituencies of executive power from one set of statesmen to their rivals. In the Yorkist instance, constitutional formalities were after the usual manner punctiliously observed. The new king made a point of submitting to an elective ceremony. The House of Commons was at once convened; the Speaker, Sir William Catesby, a man who had betrayed his best friend Hastings to the new king, acquainted the assemblage with the accession of Richard. The usurpation was accepted not with enthusiasm, but as the one way of delivering the country from a new cycle of revolution and war.

CHAPTER II.

THE DAWN OF CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY IN ENGLAND (*continued*).

The short reign of Richard III. ends. Though the succession roused no resistance, the country now enters upon a new era rather than a new reign. The other processes, transferring the crown from the Yorkist usurper to the Lancastrian conqueror of Bosworth Field, were completed as quietly as if the first Tudor had been the eldest son and lawful heir of a constitutional predecessor. With Henry VII., or, to speak exactly, in the fifteenth year of his reign, modern history begins. All things, as will presently be seen, are literally new. In home politics, in commerce, in administration, now are introduced methods and ideas, leading up to and even foreshadowing, in some respects, those which Sir Robert Walpole and his successors, or the royal masters of these statesmen, were to employ in the eighteenth century.

In foreign affairs are to be followed the lines of international action which will hereafter find successful expression in the victories of the Seven Years' War, or, during our own century, in those of Wellington. The triumphs that peace is to win are in the sixteenth century to differ less in kind than in degree from those of the nineteenth. The popular idea of the appearance presented by Richard III. obviously is derived from the representations of the theatre. The pale, haggard countenance, the glassy

wildness of the eyes, the gusts of terror or remorse that distort the features;—such is the vision that the playgoer's imagination involuntarily conjures up when he speaks of the man overtaken by Nemesis at Bosworth. Of the victorious Richmond exist authentic portraits in many English galleries. No contrast could be greater than that suggested by these to the defeated Richard. Coolness and caution are written in every line of the face of Henry VII. Physical courage and soldierly skill never failed this king. But it is to the purely civilian, even the ecclesiastical, type that his face and figure both belong. His marriage in his thirtieth year with Elizabeth of York united in his descendants the claims of the two rival Houses. From their Yorkist mother, with her full face and voluptuous style of beauty, rather than from the astute and ascetic-looking father, came those personal characteristics rightly associated with the later Tudors. The age of force and arms is succeeded by that of negotiation and compromise; the diplomatist is revealed not less in the portraits of the king than in all the critical chapters of his career.

Before details are dwelt on, another conspicuously modern feature in the Tudor era should be mentioned.

With Henry VII. and his descendants appear on the stage those men and women to whom the nineteenth century applies the epithet "representative." Hitherto, between the prominent personages of their day and the period itself there has been little personal sympathy or organic connection. Those who stand conspicuously out from among their contemporaries arrest attention by virtues or vices, transcending the usual standard of the time. Their importance does not come from their being in any special

sense the product of their epoch. They do not concentrate in themselves the spirit of their age. Under the Tudors, the men whose personalities stand out in the strongest relief, for good or for evil, epitomise and reflect the genius and the tendencies of their day.

The most lifelike presentment of Henry Tudor which words can give is contained in some graphic sentences of the great constitutional historian, Bishop Stubbs,* who allows himself more than his usual measure of suggestive simile or picturesque analogy in bringing the man before us. The severe training of adversity and exile educating this Tudor for kingship is implied, rather than described, by Shakespeare. David fleeing from Saul, banished from all he loved, hunted like a partridge on the mountains; —such is the first precedent for the seventh Henry found by the historian. The English king too was a Hercules of many labours. To him the Nemean lion was Edward IV. The Erymanthian boar is of course Richard III. himself; the Arcadian stag is found in John of Lincoln; the Cretan bull in James of Scotland; the mares of Diomede in Martin Swart; the hydra in the general ordeal of civil war. The Emperor Maximilian, the Archduke Philip of Burgundy, are the Tudor antitypes to the Herculean Geryon of the triple head. Perkin Warbeck is the historic equivalent of the mythic Cacus; the difficulties barring the way to the Continental alliances at different times entered into by the first Tudor were surely not less formidable than the dragon which closed the doors of the garden of the Hesperides. While these are some of the difficulties that he overcame, the distinctions he received are not less remarkable. Three cups and swords from as many

* *Mediæval and Modern Lectures*, pp. 335–338.

Popes, Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., and Julius II., respectively, were among the honours that during his lifetime fell to this prince. After his death there came the still greater compliment of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, for his biographer. Yet, though this king was evidently so considerable a personage in the eyes of his contemporaries, he has received but niggard treatment from the historians of his day. The explanation is not to be found in the lack of competent writers coeval with himself, for the monasteries, still flourishing during his day, contained many capable and industrious chroniclers of their epoch and its celebrities. The printing-press may have something to do with the silence. The prospect of a wide circulation in the new form and with a new public may have caused men, fit for the work, to fear risking the displeasure of a sensitive sovereign. But the real cause is doubtless the absorbing interest felt by the intellectual world at that time in the revived study of the Latin and Greek classics.* Foreigners, visiting England for the second time after a long interval, or Englishmen, returning to their native land since the establishment of the Tudor dynasty, compared their impressions of English life in Yorkist and in Tudor days. With the new line they found they had entered a different world.

The evolution of modern costume from the shapeless and nondescript wrappings of infant civilisation had even in Yorkist days advanced towards the shapely tunic and well-fitting nether garments, first general in the London streets. Not till a much later date did civilians cease to carry arms, but men of

* Stubbs' *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History.* (1886), pp. 337–50.

fashion carried the sword as an ornament long after it had ceased to be necessary as a weapon. The public opinion not only of the official classes and of those represented by their parliamentary members in the Chapter House, but of the unenfranchised multitude, steadily gaining in wealth, in influence, in consciousness of power ;—here was a national force, whose control the Tudors always recognized and the peculiarities of whose operation they never failed accurately to appreciate. The Tudor influence reached to Hanoverian kings. Sir Robert Walpole had learnt in the Tudor school. The early Georges succeeded in proportion as they followed Walpole's advice to humour, before governing their subjects. The old nobility had been depressed in many instances, ruined and almost decimated by centuries of proscription and civil war without recourse to attainders or executions, the Tudor kings contrived effectively to repress the pretensions of their nobles to feudal power and pomp, by the statutes of Livery and Maintenance. These were the laws, directed against the hitherto prevailing practice among the great feudal lords of keeping up a large body of retainers dressed in their domestic liveries, and at all times ready to espouse their quarrels; nor were these laws allowed to remain a dead letter. The great Earl of Oxford, in magnificently entertaining his sovereign, Henry VII., ventured to ignore the law and assembled his retainers dressed in his livery, to do the greater honour to his king. Henry, while thanking his host for his hospitality, in bidding him farewell declared he could not have his decrees broken in his own sight, and fined the offending noble in a heavy sum, estimated as at least £150,000 of our money. If, as later will be seen, George III., supported by the bulk of

his subjects, was to be able systematically to defy his ministers, and to flout cabinet and parliament on the strength of the support of his subjects, who as yet were without parliamentary voice, the earlier example of the Tudor kings was only being reproduced by the Hanoverian monarch. Few details of policy pursued by the eighth Henry did not have their germs in some thing done by the seventh. No trait of sanguinary absolutism perpetrated by the son is without its parentage in some like high-handedness of the father. In 1492 the first Tudor was much occupied with negotiating a commercial treaty that would, he knew, win him the favour of his industrial classes. This was the diplomatic instrument known as the *Magnus Intercursus* for promoting the Anglo-Flemish wool trade. At the same time he had the Perkin Warbeck trouble on his hands; a mere trifle stirred his suspicions as to the loyalty of his chamberlain, Sir William Stanley. The ingenious industry expended by him in following up a casual clue would have been creditable to a detective constable on his promotion. Directly evidence enough had been accumulated, the king arrested, tried and executed the perfidious official, though in doing so he risked the personal rupture with the historic house to which his chamberlain belonged.

To students of the later history of England, the international policy of Henry VII. will seem the most closely connected with the projects of his successors, and the most immediately productive of specific results. The imperial idea entered as largely into the political conceptions of Henry VII. as of Henry VIII. Both kings in the same degree looked to the well-to-do classes of their subjects to provide funds which would restore England to that place

among European powers which had been hers in the days of their earlier namesake, Henry V. Brittany by name still was, as by possession it once had been, a piece of English territory accidentally lying on the French side of the Dover Straits. To a seafaring and sea-conquering people like those he ruled, Henry VII. knew he would not appeal in vain that they should prevent the Breton harbours, with their sailor population, from being absorbed by England's nearest Continental rival. The result was indeed a failure, apparently because from the first there existed a compact between the Princess Anne of Brittany, her native advisers, and the young king of France, Charles VIII., whom Anne eventually married, bringing as her dowry that little land so rich in apple orchards, in natural harbours, and in a thrifty and enterprising population. Brittany, since the fifteenth century, has been a French possession. The episode is noticeable chiefly as a prelude to those larger schemes against France in which some two years later—more exactly in 1492—Henry VII. was, also without success, to engage.

The intellectual relations with the powers beyond seas, into which, at this period, England was brought, were largely due to the literary tastes of her sovereigns. Already in 1453 the taking of Constantinople by the Turks had scattered throughout Europe shoals of learned men whose native language was Greek. These brought with them, or were speedily followed by, manuscripts of the great poets, philosophers, and historians of antiquity, rescued from decay in Byzantine libraries. Now first Plato and Aristotle were studied in the original Greek; Continental scholars, Grocyn and, above all, Erasmus, lectured in English Universities, or coloured and enlarged the whole cur-

riculum of their studies. But beyond this newly awakened taste for the literature of Athens and Rome, came a keen interest in all classical works of art, or in the imitators or imitations of the classical models. The nineteenth century æstheticism of England and of the whole Anglo-Saxon race is rooted in the artistic developments of the sixteenth. In that century, for the first time, London had a well-to-do educated class among her inhabitants, capable of appreciating skilled workmanship in marble or on canvas. The court itself was a centre from which these humanising influences issued. Between 1526 and 1532 the younger Holbein made more than one visit to London. He executed many commissions for the City traders to whom he had letters. He was practically patronised, largely employed, and liberally remunerated by the Tudor kings; it was indeed as court painter to Henry VIII. that his mural masterpieces at Whitehall, since destroyed by fire, were executed. Moret, the jeweller, whose Holbein portrait hangs in the Dresden gallery, was a Londoner; the likeness of Jane Seymour, now in the Vienna Belvedere, was painted in Britain. In all these instances, the personal influence of a royal patron on the art and culture of his time is a prophecy of the artistic fruitfulness of the favour, to be extended later by Charles I. to Van Dyck, or of a like encouragement to later masters of the brush from the Princes of Victorian England. The Turkish conquest of Constantinople had other than educational results in letters or art. The event closed the old trade routes to the East from the Levant; by doing so it impelled merchants to seek a new highway to India. Of the innumerable geographical speculations and voyages, thus promoted, the Portuguese investigations of the West Coast of

Africa; after these, in 1492, the finding of the New World on the other side of the Atlantic, were the most memorable. So far back as the beginning of his reign Henry VII. had never ceased personally to encourage the enterprising traders of his western city of Bristol. Hence the expedition on English ships, manned by English sailors, which in 1497 enabled its commander, John Cabot, the Venetian, to be the first European who reached the North American mainland. The invention of gunpowder, closely synchronising as it did with that of printing, and with the other triumphs of peace just enumerated, was to do more than to send out of fashion the weapons which had won for England her greatest victories on French soil. Without the new agent of destruction, not only would standing armies, now becoming universal, have not existed as settled institutions, but the European conquests, such as those by Cortes and Pizarro, of immense tracts of country and whole nationalities of inhabitants, could not have been accomplished.

Of all the instances of an English sovereign impressing his personality upon the events of his reign, the earliest, as probably the greatest, is that of Henry VIII. A monstrous and relentless egotism is the quality which lies at the root of, that sums up and explains the entire reign of this monarch, with its convulsions of Church and State, its proscriptions, its decapitations, and all the other incidents in the private or matrimonial, in the civil, the social, the religious history of this king. Whoever might be the minister or the instrument of the policy, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, the inheritor of Morton's influence,—the Duke of Norfolk, as representing the mind of the titled aris-

tocracy,—Thomas Wolsey, who began life as secretary to Fox; Archbishop Warham, Thomas Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer; the mind moving the hands of each of these is never for a moment doubtful. In whatever is done or undone, the individual will, expressing itself in bloodshed, in destruction or construction, is that of the sovereign. Henry on his accession showed most of the characteristics of his Yorkist ancestors, from his figure, stature, fair complexion with ruddyish hair, to his skill in all manly exercises and to his resolve to be his own Prime Minister, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Foreign Secretary and Commander-in-Chief. Upon every item of court or state procedure, whether the etiquette to be observed in receiving at Whitehall the ambassadors of foreign monarchs, the exact order of precedence at State ceremonials, or the precise degree of pomp and circumstance becoming the most trivial incident in the private life of kings, the impress of the eighth Henry's character or caprice was always visible. During his reign an unlimited capacity for detail of every kind first became a royal fashion. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the fastidiously minute precision of the Hanoverian princes was criticised as a German innovation, unworthy of the dignity of English royalty. It was on the contrary, as a matter of fact, a reversion to the historic Tudor tradition. The ready wit, the genial urbanity, shown by Henry VIII. in his casual intercourse with men are doubtless the explanation of the popularity that the sanguinary autocracy of the man never quite destroyed. They certainly set an example of kingly demeanour, followed by all Henry's successors who were brought into social contact with their subjects; they were apparent in George III. while, in plain,

country costume, a farmer among farmers, he mingled with his Windsor neighbours. His son the regent, when the occupations and delights of London left him leisure for rural life, cultivated the same habit. His latest descendant, the present heir apparent, owes much of the personal affection with which he has inspired all classes, either on or about his Sandringham estate, or the royal residences in the Home counties, to the unconscious perpetuation of a demeanour, whose introduction by Henry VIII. secured him from his people a sort of social indemnity for the judicial murders of wives, friends, Ministers of State and courtiers, for whom he had no further use, or who dared to stand between him and his sunlight.

The traditional foreign policy of England began in a sense with Henry VII. But in international affairs that king was not a personal force of great importance. Through all the diplomacy of the period the first Tudor originated little or nothing; he was content to act on the initiative of Spain. Henry VIII., on the other hand, himself planned those campaigns wherein as a member of the anti-French league he took part, discussed with Admiral Sir Edward Howard the naval tactics which in 1513 inflicted on France the greatest defeat she had yet sustained by sea, and cleared the Channel passage for the English ships to Calais. He had indeed reason to be dissatisfied at the material results of the international movement against Spain, whereof he had been so important a part. But the tradition of French hostility and Austrian friendship began to be recognized in his reign in English diplomacy. That principle remained in force during the whole period from Chatham to Palmerston; it is em-

ployed in the diplomatic doctrine of the balance of power once deemed vital to English interests in Europe.

One of the happiest non-political addresses made by Disraeli was that delivered by him as Lord Rector to the Glasgow students in 1873. Enumerating instances of rulers who had understood the spirit of their age, the speaker was thought by some reporters to mention the great princes of the House of "Judah." Disraeli of course said "Tudor," as the present writer, who was listening very closely to the speech, can testify. An insight into the temper of their period and into the minds of subjects, now for the first time manifested by the second Tudor king, may, with him, be said to have begun to occupy a prominent place among the traditional qualities of English sovereignty. He taught himself and his successors to distinguish between the passing and permanent elements of public opinion. Henry also set William III. the example of a king being his own foreign minister. In this way diplomacy began to be considered a political study specially suited to kings and courts. From those prejudices personal to himself in favour of Roman doctrine and Roman ritual, Henry shrewdly conjectured the unlikelihood of any Protestant enthusiasm among the masses of his people. But English soil needed for his purpose to be cleared of Papal influence. He had therefore to identify his religious enterprise with secular issues easy of apprehension to, and commanding the approval of, his patriotic people. Here the history of preceding reigns showed him that to which among the masses he might confidently appeal. This was no Lutheran sentiment of antipathy to Popery as a faith, but the inveterate

jealousy of clerical encroachments on the political domain. This was felt not only by the parliament as a great court of national appeal; the sentiment had become deeply rooted in the nation. The Marian persecutions of Protestants half a century later excited an enthusiasm for the Reformed religion. Could such a feeling have existed in his time Henry VIII. would not have sympathized with it. As a matter of fact, the popular zeal for recurring to primitive simplicity in spiritual functions was unknown before the fervour and fortitude of the Elizabethan or Stuart Puritans had spiritualised Nonconformity and had made of Dissent a religion for which to die or live. If, however, he could bring into relations of mutual antagonism the temporal pretensions of Rome, and the keen jealousy felt not more by Parliament than by every class and interest in the kingdom, then from his knowledge of the national genius the king knew he could rely on carrying his subjects with him, when he determined at a stroke to free the country and the Church from the subservience in which it had hitherto been held to the Pope of Rome. The substitution of the supremacy of an English king for an Italian bishop over the English Church was the contribution of Henry VIII. towards the Reformation. That mastery of national feeling in these matters has been, so far as they were able to do so, reproduced by all rulers and statesmen since the day of Henry VIII. Unconsciously no doubt, but not the less really, has the latest successor of the Tudor king, when in the midst of statesmen of different political parties and varying religious views, called upon to play a mediatorial part, guided herself by considerations not entirely dissimilar from those present to her arbitrary

and shrewd predecessor. No one of course supposes the Church of England, as it now exists among us, and as in our time it has become the mother of Episcopalian Communions throughout the world, to have been the work of this or of any other individual sovereign. But the ecclesiastical arrangements which the Anglican Church perpetuates for us to-day bear the stamp of the genius of this king. Bishops are appointed still in exactly the way Henry VIII. prescribed when he took that patronage from the Pope. The religious jurisdiction of the secular executive, the relations between Parliament and Convocation, the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown as exercised by a committee of his Privy Council;—each of these things, by which is conditioned the modern existence of the Church of England, may be referred to the second Tudor. The pre-eminent and perennial interest, and the ever fresh instructiveness to the latest generations of the Tudor period, come from its having illustrated, as no other epoch has done, the opportunity under every form of monarchy existing for the assertion of the personal will and genius of the monarch. The reign of Henry's masterful daughter will ever be a manual for the study of English princesses. The socially humanising influences of a later day were not among the forces of those earlier times. Goodness, beauty, charity and kindness could not enter into the Elizabethan idea of queenship as they have entered into the Victorian. Elizabeth had her occasional brushes, now and again sufficiently sharp, with her people. So far as words went there was a touch of feminine hatred in her complaint of "the six hundred devils of the House of Commons." *

* The words, as explained by J. R. Green in his *Popular*

Yet this does not prevent a genuine ring of womanly sincerity in her assurance that she never did, and never would, allow anything to come between herself and her Commons. From one point of view the relations of this queen to her people suggest those of a lover, whose loyalty nothing can disarm, to a mistress whose coquetry, while it heightens her charm, does not obscure her merit. Strength of will, dauntless courage, pitiless, often perverse, resolutions; —such are some of the qualities always present to her people in this, the first of their great queens. None the less the intense womanliness of their Sovereign, her love of admiration, her alternations of pathetic gentleness and of petulant severity were always there. These are the attributes which, if they frequently provoked, irritated, repulsed, her people, never failed to interest, to fascinate, as upon the whole they fixed permanently the popular affection. Courtship is rather the period morally reflected during this reign in the intercourse between ruler and ruled. It is the April weather now smiling, now overcast, of the wooer, the wooing and the wooed. In the carriage of Queen Anne towards her subjects there is nothing of any great personal interest. The touches of nature, so dear to human breasts, that abound in the terms on which are associated the queens and people of the sixteenth and of the nineteenth centuries, are mostly wanting in the eighteenth. Yet, in the places occupied as sovereigns by Elizabeth and Victoria, points of contrast are more numerous and striking than points of resemblance. That is what one might expect, for whatever the faults of the expiring epoch of our century, it cannot,

History of the English People, were uttered by the Queen in private talk with the Spanish Ambassador.

in its politics any more than in its art or in its literature, be charged with want of naturalness. Artificiality was as much the note of the age of Elizabeth as of the age of Anne. It has been conspicuous by absence from the real relations between crown and people in the days of Victoria. To inflame her subjects with any passion of loyalty or patriotism; to associate her name with great achievements of her era, has not been the first object of Queen Victoria. To be recognized now, and hereafter to be remembered, as in no conventional sense, the mother of her people, is the object from the first proposed by the English sovereign to herself.

But, though nothing in the Elizabethan precedent, or in the whole range of English history, resembles the nature of the ties uniting Queen Victoria with her subjects, certain details connected with the earlier queen are not less accurately than interestingly suggestive of the position filled by the latter. A close parallel might be drawn between the expressions of chivalrous personal and loverlike attachment to the virgin monarch in which Elizabethan literature abounds, and the language of personal devotion to the young Victoria from men whose names like that of Dickens were famous long before the death of William IV. Her personal attractions had been used by Elizabeth to deepen the devotion to her of men of genius like Raleigh, Philip Sidney, Spenser; of statesmen like Bacon, Cecil, Walsingham, the nimble Sir Christopher Hatton, her Lord Chancellor; and those brilliant courtiers who, like Leicester, summed up in themselves all that was most brilliantly representative of their age. In the case of Victoria, literature has been a bond of union between herself and her people, in a way unknown to Elizabeth.

Sir Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort* could only have been written, in collaboration with his widow. Much that is most valuable and lifelike in it is practically given almost in the queen's words. Then came the *Journals* of Highland life as well as of travel within and without the four seas. These are books that mark an entirely new era in the personal union between the hand which holds the sceptre and the pen, and the hearts that heighten their loyalty to the former by the affection with which they hang on the words of the latter. In their temper towards the national religion may be found yet another detail of resemblance between these two crowned women. To Elizabeth, indeed, spiritual faith was a matter of secular policy. With the Tudor queen indeed, in private and in public life, religion never filled the place it has always occupied in the Victorian court and home. Hallam, in his *Constitutional History,* has made it plain that the middle point occupied by Anglican ritual and doctrine between Rome and Geneva was largely due to the personal predilections of Elizabeth, and that deference to her will and wish explains the avoidance of certain excesses on one side or the other.* In like matters the convictions of Victoria are known to have stamped themselves upon her own ecclesiastical history. Not only has a constitutional tolerance ever withheld her sanction from narrowing the pale of the national Communion; the more fully the history of the reign is written in private letters and personal records, notably in the life of her great ecclesiastical statesman, Archbishop Tait, the more clearly it is seen that the queen has suggested com-

* Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 243. See especially the original authorities cited in the Note.

promises instrumental in settling ceremonial controversies and doctrinal feuds which otherwise might have resulted in ecclesiastical rupture. The personal religion of Queen Elizabeth was not that of Queen Victoria. The desire to see the church coextensive with the nation suggests a resemblance between the two sovereigns.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY UNDER THE TUDORS.

William IV. still occupied the throne when, accompanied by her mother, his niece and heir made a progress through her future kingdom; among the historic dwellings of English statesmen included in that tour was the Hertfordshire home of the Cecils. When the Princess Victoria first saw Hatfield, Lord Robert Cecil, a second son, then an infant, seemed to have no chance of becoming Marquis of Salisbury. The Elizabethan associations of the place were not without their educational influence upon the girlish visitor. From her retirement at Hatfield, at the very moment when doubts as to her parliamentary legitimacy were thickest, Elizabeth, on the death of her sister Mary, was called to the throne. Among the literary relics * of the Tudor period that might specially attract a young lady with a reversionary interest in the English crown was the account of the controversy between John Knox and Aylmer. The Scotch puritan had written a famous denunciation of female monarchy: *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.* The attack had been, of course, directly made upon the Popish Mary. Her Protestant sister

* These interesting objects are not only or chiefly literary. They include Queen Elizabeth's bonnet and bed as well as the cradle of her infancy; of this last a fac-simile given by Lord Salisbury to the Queen is now at Windsor.

resented it as an insult not more to her sex than to herself. The Anglican Prelate,* for the refutation of his antagonist's chief doctrine, relied on a constitutional principle that by the light of subsequent history reads like an anticipation of the principle of ministerial responsibility. Incidentally in his view of the English monarchy Aylmer summarises the general results of the centuries of struggle between king and people which had been essential to the evolution of English sovereignty. In the Parliament House is to be seen not merely the image of British monarchy but the thing itself. Here in addition to the queen are the noblemen; these be the aristocracy; the democracy is seen in the burgesses and knights; if these meet in parliament, use their privileges, the king can ordain nothing without them, or if he do, it is his usurpation which it is their fault to permit.† The writer for these reasons praises as good fathers of the country those who would not allow the proclamations of Henry VIII. to have the force of law. This limitation of the royal power was not indeed yet accepted by the court or by those who made themselves mouthpieces of the court. Sir Walter Raleigh began his *History of the World* under Elizabeth; he continued it under James I.; he wrote many pamphlets and smaller works in the same tone of uncompromising courtiership. Francis Bacon criticised those views; by doing so, he lost the queen's favour. Raleigh had declared the bonds of subjects to their king should always be of iron; the bonds of kings unto subjects of cobwebs. This absolutism is more fully developed in another treatise of Raleigh's,

* Aylmer was Bishop of London.
† Hallam, *Constitutional History*, Vol. I., p. 382.

the *Thesaurus of State.** Raleigh himself, it may well be, did not seriously hold these doctrines. In practical contradiction to them he advised the sovereigns under whom he lived more than once to call a parliament. The difference between Aylmer and Raleigh is practically that which has always separated the two chief schools of political thought in England. This antagonism of ideas filled men's minds under the Plantagenets. It obtained organized expression under the Tudors. It inspired rival armies with their battle-cries under the Stuarts. While kingship, in any of its aspects, continued, throughout the Georgian period, a party question, that ancient difference formed the foundation of conflicting creeds in Church and State. Of other Elizabethan writers on this subject, first heard of by the then Princess Victoria, during her Hatfield visits, was Sir Thomas Smith, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State.† Tinged with absolutist sympathies as this writer is, and regarding parliament still as something of an experiment, he admits the new institution to be "the most authentical court" of England, "by virtue of which all things be established, and no other means accounted available to make any new forfeiture of life or lands of any Englishman, where there was no law ordered for it before." Ample room is left here‡ to cover the validity of royal proclamations.

As this retrospect has already circumstantially shown, absolutism is foreign to the genius and the origin of English monarchy. It was always the in-

* Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 377.
† Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 383.
‡ "No doubt intentionally," adds Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, Vol. I., p. 384.

novation of individual kings and of their courtiers. Hume is the one historian who holds English kingship to have been a pure despotism. Hallam has successfully disposed of this theory. The very Tudor dictatorships on which Hume bases his argument were conditional on the dictator's general deference to the popular opinion of his subjects. The adroitness and ability of Henry VIII., as well as of his daughter, were shown in their readiness to recognize the exact point beyond which their personal wishes could not safely be pressed. Yet the Tudor epoch was long outlived by a royal superstition which certainly lasted into the eighteenth century, which in the popular mind cannot perhaps be said to have died even yet. Above and apart from the defined prerogatives of monarchy, the crown was conceived of as possessing a vague and august reserve, intangible and indefinable, of paramount sovereignty. Hallam compares that mysterious attribute to the dictatorial power inherent in the Roman Senate, and exercised on national emergencies for the salvation of the State. This paramount sovereignty clothed the crown ministers with authority to establish martial law. The incomprehensible essence, thus embodied in words under the Tudors, inspired of course the doctrine of the Divine Right of kingship which was the leading article in the Stuart faith. But what, on her Hatfield visit, would have chiefly impressed the Princess Victoria in the precedents of Elizabethan sovereignty is that, in her most arbitrary moods, the Tudor queen, like her Tudor predecessors, always admitted a controlling power in the popular opinion of her realm. Above all, neither Elizabeth nor any of her line provoked public opinion by advancing extravagant theories of royal power. The Tudors

were content with possessing and using, on the whole, discreetly, the power which the Stuarts elaborated into a ruinously unpopular and unconstitutional dogma.

A discreet sensibility to unexpressed national feeling, as well as a regard to whole classes not represented in parliament, is the lesson taught by the Tudors to those who afterwards sat upon their thrones. It is the principle upon which all generations of the House of Brunswick have consistently acted.

Neither James I. nor Charles I. held or enforced loftier views of the prerogative than the princes of the Tudor line. But Henry VIII. and his children were keen judges of popular opinion; they spared no pains to be accurately informed thereon; they were not satisfied with official reports; their own hands were ever immediately on the public pulse. In this way the Tudors secured themselves against the mistakes and self-deceptions which were to ruin their successors. The sovereigns of the earlier line were not more scrupulously truthful than those of the later. They did not, however, convey to contemporaries or to posterity the same impression of habitual and deliberate insincerity. Frankness, if not always exact truthfulness, is the lesson which the Stuart failures have taught to all subsequent sovereigns.

As has been already said and as will presently be seen, the Hanoverian kings generally carried the nation with them, because they consulted its prejudices. Nor was Sir Robert Walpole's example of not ignoring the, as yet, unrepresented classes lost upon those seventeenth and eighteenth century sovereigns.

But the chief moral for all their successors pointed by the Tudors is the opportunity enjoyed by the

reigning prince if he will but give his mind to it of judging the temper of his people more correctly than is likely to be done by any of his statesmen, and of forming a juster idea of the policy most practicable and expedient in a national crisis. Here the parallel between Elizabeth and Victoria is singularly close. The Tudors were the first sovereigns to win for common sense a high place among royal virtues, and to show the special opportunities enjoyed by the crown for the cultivation of that quality. No one, impartially reviewing the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, can doubt this to have been the special legacy bequeathed to their descendants by the great princes now mentioned. No one examining the conduct of English sovereigns in the nineteenth century can doubt that they have faithfully shunned the Stuart errors, or have practically educated themselves by studying the best exemplars of a monarchy based upon the popular will. Whether Henry VIII. possessed or lacked religious convictions is not a speculation necessary to pursue; it is enough here to note that he bequeathed to his daughter his own clear insight. That royal Englishman alone judged correctly the national temper. His practical wisdom is best shown in its contrast to the blunders of the men to whom in Church and State the completion of his work was left. Not only the personal bias, which, with a stronger body, he might have outlived, but the youth, inexperience, and feeble health of Edward VI., practically merge his reign into the Protectorship of Somerset. Henry had scarcely gone, the coronation ceremony of his son had been hardly performed, when commenced a series of mistakes that the Tudors themselves had avoided. The policy of religious compromise was abandoned before the nation

had passed the first stage of its religious transition. Somerset was a brave man and a good soldier, not without those qualities which attract courts as well as those which command camps. He was entirely wanting in tact, insight, in a just appreciation of the complexity and variety of the kingdom whose vice-regent he had made himself.

In those days the difference between town and country, provinces and capital, was greater even than later generations have known. In London Somerset had seen the Protestant obedience quietly accepted and a severely evangelical form of worship easily established. Even in the metropolis, however, he could not have observed any signs of enthusiasm for the new faith. The change of religion was tolerated rather than welcomed. The people had been told there were reasons of State for severing all connection with Rome. They believed the assurances; they acquiesced in the severe unattractive ritual of the new communion with passive loyalty. Protector Somerset was not content, as might have been his royal ward, with the moral certainty, which facts constituted, that the English people would not relapse into popery. Somerset in fact was one of those men who risk a revolution in an untimely zeal for pushing principles to their logical results. Scarcely a country village was not thrown into uproar by the appearance of his men with scaffolding, ladders, hammers, chisels, and other implements of destruction to pull down the images of martyrs, apostles, saints, and virgins from the niches in rural temples which within living memory they had always filled. Frescoes, paintings and other ornaments equally harmless or picturesque were ruthlessly destroyed or removed. This was not the worst. In mere wantonness the

artisans, employed to root out each visible relic of the familiar and venerable worship, dressed themselves up in the sacred vestments for which ecclesiastical use had ceased; so habited, they gathered the boors from the village alehouse to join with them on the green in playing football with the fragments of broken statues or the mutilated remains of objects more sacred still. The absolute impartiality of faith and feeling entertained by Elizabeth towards spiritual doctrines of their external symbols averted some of the retrogressive results of these unwise proceedings, but the unnatural severity of the Puritanism of the Commonwealth was not more directly answerable for the extravagant immoralities of the Restoration than were the Roman persecutions and burnings. Mary Tudor proved the Nemesis of the Protestant excesses perpetrated by the unstatesmanlike ministers of Edward VI.

The Marian barbarities are now generally explained by the fact of the queen's mind having become in some degree unhinged during and after her troubles of marriage and health,—before the commencement of the sanguinary epoch. She was therefore easily amenable to the evil influences surrounding her, deepening and embittering as such agencies did her own native fanaticism. Mary Tudor had indeed an able adviser in Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester as well as Lord Chancellor, thoroughly trained in the school of Wolsey. The sex, temper, and health of his royal mistress incapacitated her for heeding, still less acting on, his wise counsels. Deaf alike to her soundest adviser and to the better dictates of her own mind, the queen surrendered

herself to the sinister influences of those who appealed to her passions to bear down her reason. Such were the Papal legate, Cardinal Pole, and Renard, the ambassador of the Emperor Charles V. The wisest observer of English events during this period seems to have been the Pope himself. Paul IV. fully realised the familiar truth of persecution helping the cause it attacks. Directly he saw English Protestants vying with each other in going to the scaffold or stake, he knew the blood of the British martyrs would be the seed of the Anglican Church. But it was too late. In five years the fanaticism of Mary was followed by the reaction, which, it had always been certain, would come. Before the enthusiasm, thus produced, the difficulties of Elizabeth's legitimacy were removed; with them disappeared all the obstacles which were in the way of her return to Henry VIII.'s policy of ecclesiastical compromise.

In the enjoyment of good physical health and of married happiness, the disqualifying disadvantages of her sex would have been minimised instead of aggravated. In those happier circumstances Mary Tudor might have shown more of the political aptitudes of her family. Such a display might well have increased those religious difficulties which beset Elizabeth, and which reliance on her ancestral good sense rather than on the wisdom of those about her enabled Anne Boleyn's daughter, once the secular enthusiasm of her subjects was touched, so easily to surmount. The religious strain was not the only trial that, when the greatest of the Tudors had disappeared, tested the strength of their descendants. The Latin services chanted after the manner of Ambrose at Milan had always been a popular feature in the Christian wor-

ship which Augustine and his successors organized rather than introduced. The peremptory cessation of these rites was felt as a sentimental but still a most real grievance by the inhabitants of rural England. To the alienation of the country districts was now to be added the discontent of the towns. Than the new state policy, no step could have been better calculated to estrange the urban and commercial interests of the kingdom. The guilds had been in existence before the Conquest and were coeval with the monarchy itself. These societies, combining masters and men, represented labour and capital. Some of them would seem to have anticipated the work of trade unions as well as benefit or insurance agencies. They regulated labour of all kinds; they provided for sick or disabled workmen; they gave pensions to families which had lost their bread-winners; they educated children; they started girls in domestic service; having given to their dead members Christian burial, they paid for masses for the rest of departed souls. These were only some of their functions. To supply recreation and amusements for the holidays on which they insisted; to establish galas, fêtes and excursions; to endow and manage what were then practically national theatres;—all these things came within their province. In York City, in other great local centres, more particularly in the North and East of England, not only the miracle plays, an essential part of the intellectual life of the English people, but the processions and other pageants which won for mediæval England its familiar epithet of merry, were generally encouraged and in their details superintended by the guilds. Some of these bodies, composed principally of masters, but all comprehended by the same generic term, played the part

of chambers of commerce or discussed and enacted details of industrial legislation such as the wisdom of a later day has relegated to the House of Commons. To have touched so vital a point of this national organization in the capital itself would certainly have caused riot with bloodshed, might easily have led to revolution. London accordingly was to be exempted from the operation of the measures which the political managers, who wielded some of the power of the Tudor Princes, were now with gratuitous folly to apply to a nation already harassed, perplexed and irritated by a long succession of religious revolutions and counter-revolutions.

Proportionately to population and wealth the guilds were only less numerous and powerful in many provincial towns, than in the capital itself. In the county of Norfolk they amounted to nearly a thousand. In the Cornish town of Bodmin, a place from the vicissitudes of the tin trade less inconsiderable perhaps then than now, yet not of national importance, these associations flourished to the number of nearly fifty. Bodies so ancient, so active and in general so wisely managed, were of course wealthy; especially in the neighbourhood of towns their landed estates were often large. On such property as this the cost of masses for the departed was a first charge; from that point of view, therefore, the institutions might be regarded as outlying strongholds of popery. Protector Somerset, by methods which no records of that date perfectly explain, contrived to force through parliament bills disendowing and disestablishing those bodies. Under Edward VI., indeed, the volumes entitled *Parliamentary History* give for the first time an account of the proceedings of the House of Commons separately from those of the Lords. By

this time, too, commercial and urban affairs had substantial representatives in the burgesses returned by the towns. There is, however, no trace of the legislation devised by Somerset for rooting out from English soil the last traces of Romish influence being resisted by an important minority in the Commons; hence, the predominating power in parliament would still seem to have consisted of those court nominees whose presence had enabled Henry VIII. so easily to pass through the Houses the specific statutes for shaking off the papal power.

The whole of this period, which as nearly as possible divides the sixteenth century, was disturbed by popular agitations, serious even more for the social and ecclesiastical tumults of which they were the heralds than for the commotions which at the time they involved. Nor without some reference to these can properly be understood some of those religious and industrial controversies that have been and still are of constant recurrence in the England of Queen Victoria.

The year 1549 witnessed the publication of the Manual, prepared by divines in conference at Windsor, chief among them being Cranmer and Ridley. This was the famous *First Prayer Book of Edward VI.* Its formularies supplied no solution of many grave differences, especially those relating to the Sacraments. Like most compromises this Service Book was at first unpopular. It was revised and re-revised no less than four times between the middle of the sixteenth and the second half of the seventeenth century; now the concessions were to the friends of the old religion, that of Rome, now to the new Protestants of Geneva. Imperceptibly the simple grace and dignity of the language and style won

the respect and affection of at first an unsympathetic people. Read in the West of England for the first time on Whit-Sunday, 1549, the book caused a popular uproar verging on civil war. Gradually this unrest subsided. On the accession of Elizabeth, the volume had become as essential a part of the religious life of England as it was when its coronation service was said in Westminster Abbey over Queen Victoria. Other causes of popular dissatisfaction, widely spread, were purely secular. Agriculture, especially in the East of England, had long been giving way to sheep-farming. Commons were being steadily enclosed; the turbary and pasture rights of the commoners were violated without compensation. From the last two Tudor Princes dates the modern socio-economical problem of the unemployed. The confiscation of the guilds has been already mentioned. Coinciding as it did with what was in effect an agricultural revolution, it familiarised the Eastern and some of the Midland Counties on the eve of the Elizabethan epoch with demonstrations organized by agitators, anticipating, it may almost be said, those which have occurred during the later decades of the Victorian age. Protector Somerset had himself encouraged these disturbances by his public disapproval of the encroachment on commons, as well as by a commission which he issued for inquiring into the subject, and which investigated but did not settle. The East Anglian movement was led by the two brothers, not themselves working men, but prosperous master-tanners, Robert and William Ket. The clergy of the Reformed Church recognized an opportunity for using on the side of peace their influence with the rioters. Close by Norwich stands a single tree called to this day the Oak of Reforma-

tion. Beneath its branches Protestant ministers preached to the populace; the new morning and evening prayers were read daily; without bloodshed, the agitation in a short time died away; the entire episode proved to be equally to the advantage and credit of the Reformation Church.

Many of the ill effects of Somerset's policy yet remained; they were soon to be felt more acutely and widely. The suppression of the monasteries during the later years of Henry VIII., followed by the changes in the cultivation of the soil already mentioned, are popularly, though not quite correctly, held responsible for the first Poor Law, that of 1552; this was replaced by the famous Poor Law of 1601, appointing overseers in every parish for the relief of the needy. But the mischief was not confined to the rural industries of England. Scamped work and adulterated goods were the European complaints made against English merchandise on sale in the great Continental marts of Flanders and Italy. The abolished guilds had successfully secured thoroughness of workmanship, and with that world-wide markets. All this now seemed to be at an end. At the same time English indebtedness to Italian bankers was increasing. Towards the close of the short life of Edward VI., the prospect both of the Tudor dynasty and of the Protestant Religion was ominously overcast. Of the devotion of Edward VI. to Protestantism no doubt exists; the Scotch Reformer, John Knox, and the Puritan primate, Archbishop Grindal, had both been among his chaplains. But, in the interest of Protestantism, nothing could have been more ill-advised than the closing act in the life of the king, who died before he was sixteen.

By the will of Henry VIII., made with the ap-

proval of parliament, Edward was to be succeeded by his sister Mary. The Duke of Northumberland, a Protestant, knew that the accession of this Princess must mean the re-establishment of popery and his own doom. That nobleman, therefore, and his friends successfully intrigued to influence the dying king to change the line of succession in favour of the Suffolk family of Grey and the descendants of Margaret Tudor and her husband, the Earl of Lennox, neither of whom had been mentioned by Henry VIII. On the death of Edward, Lady Jane Grey was formally proclaimed queen amid manifestations of popular feeling in favour of the Princess Mary, arbitrarily, as it has been seen, passed by. The strength of Protestant feeling which later sovereigns have found in England cannot historically be understood without some reference to these earlier facts. Each successive incident is a fresh verification of the familiar adage of persecution helping the cause it attacks. The injustice done to the Romanist Princess Mary prepared the reaction in her favour which between 1553 and 1558 was to facilitate the re-establishment of the Roman faith. The Marian bonfires in London and Canterbury and throughout the country were to kindle not only the courage of Protestant martyrs at the stake, but the flame of a sympathetic admiration for the religion of these victims in the hearts of an entire nation.

If the doubt of Mary's legitimacy could be used as a plausible argument with Edward VI. for striking that princess out of the succession, it was obviously certain to be advanced to the prejudice of the half-sister of Mary, Elizabeth; both of these were the daughters of mothers whose marriages with Henry

VIII. had been unmade. No single fact helped the successor of Mary more than the systematic efforts of the Romanisers to discredit her origin. The chief lesson which this queen taught her descendants for all time was to ascertain and to preserve those relations between royal policy and popular opinion which, roughly, had been recognized by Henry VIII., and which, as the English polity became more highly organized, it was easier for the shrewd judgment and the observing mind to ascertain.

As a fact, the Elizabethan epoch is full of instructiveness in its bearing upon our own times, because during the sixteenth century their modern, if not their final, form was assumed by most of those issues and interests, domestic or foreign, civil or religious, with which the atmosphere of our own time is charged. Between 1558 and 1603 the Church of England as by law established had acquired a certain unity and consistency of its own. The division within it and the dissent without were of the sort which the nineteenth century knows. In these, as in other matters, the policy of Elizabeth, like that of Victoria, was to follow the line of the least resistance.

> "It was The Word that spake it,
> He took the Bread and brake it,
> And what The Word did make it,
> That I believe and take it."

The shrewd and homely words so often quoted, as the compendium of the queen's sacramental ideas, perhaps indicate her real conviction on the central mystery of Christian worship. Her honest wish was for the national conviction to find its own expression in action and in words. Here, as elsewhere, she took her people into partnership. Nor did it seem to be

her duty to do more than supply the devotional machinery and forms for her subjects to put in motion and to fill up. Thus a royal proclamation provided for the saying of the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer in English. Controversial preaching on either side was expressly forbidden. No words indeed likely to provoke theological difference were to be used in the pulpit, till parliament had decided on pending questions. Before the third year of the reign the Houses had met, had sanctioned a revision by Parker and Grindal of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. in a sense less likely to wound Roman Catholics and High Church Anglicans. From the Litany disappeared a denunciation of the bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities. The mutually contradictory words from the Edwardian Prayer Books on the subject of the Real Presence were still retained in the Communion Service. The forty-two Articles of Edward VI. were reduced to the thirty-nine now used in the English Church. Vestments and ritual, such as parliament had sanctioned in the second year of Edward VI., were to be continued. Thus did Elizabeth bequeath to Victoria one of the chief causes of Anglican dissensions. Weak consciences were offended by no severe tests. From holders of State office only the Oath of Supremacy was required. A shilling fine was imposed on absentees from church, but does not seem to have been often severely enforced. In this way was stamped, once for all, upon the English Church that character of compromise retained by her to this day, and the cause at once of her greatest strength and her greatest weakness. Neither then nor since has any religious party been entirely satisfied by the arrangement. Among most classes the

old faith died hard. Many who conformed to the new summoned a Roman priest to their sick or dying beds. Queen Mary's bishops resigned their sees. Two hundred clergymen gave up their benefices. The places of the seceding divines, higher and lower, were filled generally by evangelicals, who, during the Marian terrors, had taken refuge at Geneva, and who returned to their native land, deeply imbued with the doctrines of Calvin and Knox. Among the evangelicals who did not quit the national Church were many whose scarcely concealed sympathies were with the nonconforming sectaries, and who especially found much to admire in the great body which was afterwards to play so large a part in English history, the Independents. Practically, therefore, at the beginning of the Elizabethan epoch, Church matters were settled on their modern foundation, the seeds of discord between rival schools of Anglican thought were sown. Only time, enthusiasm and organization were wanted to range into rival camps the ecclesiastical parties which, coming into existence then, have never since been extinguished or even during any long time been inactive.

As has been already seen, the international English tradition of friendship for Austria rather than France began under Henry VIII. The reign of Elizabeth was marked generally by the grouping of powers according to their religions. That was not the principle of the great diplomatic transaction of the reign. The Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis between Henry II. of France and Philip II. of Spain, in 1559, also secured important concessions for Flanders and Italy. Above all, it introduced a diplomatic period, lasting till 1648, when the Peace of Westphalia*

* This peace, which first recognized the balance of power

substituted for religion, as the associating motive of nations, the secular considerations, summed up in the phrase, "the balance of power," which even nineteenth century statesmen, so late as Lord Palmerston, thought it the mission of England to preserve.

In one domestic detail of much importance the England of Elizabeth strikingly anticipated the England of Victoria. From the first the policy of the Tudors has been shown primarily to involve the depression of the feudal houses of the English nobility and the royal reliance on the more substantial of the untitled subjects of the crown. These tendencies were each of them finally fulfilled for her age by Elizabeth. The Protestantism of the South of England Members of the House of Commons was the chief source of the queen's strength against her Roman Catholic opponents. The Tudor parliaments had always been more Protestant than the majority of the Tudor subjects. The sixteenth century House of Commons was a stronghold, not only of English, but of European opposition to the papacy.

The predecessors of Elizabeth, at moments of peril and pressure, had been disposed to look to their nobles and their Council. Elizabeth looked to the House of Commons. She always indeed resented the interference of this chamber in the perpetually recurring question of her marriage, or in such religious subjects as she had not specially assigned for its consideration. But for a puritan element practically leavening the popular House, the policy of the queen

in Europe, was signed between the Emperor and Sweden. It provided for the continuance by Spain of the war against France for the enlargement of Sweden, for the eventual cession of Alsace to France, for the restoration of the Elector Palatine to the Lower Palatinate, and for the recognition of the religious and political rights of the German States.

with regard to Mary Queen of Scots and her Roman Catholic supporters of the great Howard family must have miscarried. To convince either foreign nations or her own aristocratic subjects of her impregnable position as queen, Elizabeth needed merely to summon the parliament. Thus began, under this queen, that reciprocal understanding between the parliament and the sovereign or the sovereign's ministers which, whether the immediate matter in hand be a peace, a war, a money-grant to a member of the royal family, has caused, and still causes, the first magistrate of England without misgiving to submit the matter to the Estates sitting at Westminster.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY UNDER THE STUARTS.

Among the Norman followers of William the Conqueror to England were none with family characteristics more strongly marked, or in whose career more of romance was blended with hard fact, than the house of Alan Fitz-Flaald. Of this strange race the head in the twelfth century received from King Henry I. a large landed estate near Oswestry in Shropshire. Of his two sons, the elder, known as William Fitz-Alan (1105–1160), founded the noble house of Arundel. A second son (1177) received from David I., King of Scotland, much property in that country, in the Lowlands, not far from the Scotch and English border, especially in Renfrewshire, Teviotdale, Lauderdale. Together with these estates was bestowed on Walter Fitz-Alan the hereditary office and title of Steward of Scotland. So came into existence the family which gradually adopted the French mode of spelling the name Stuart. Thus, in the course of two or three generations, a word, originally indicating nothing more than a public office, lost its official significance and ranked henceforth as a family patronymic. The sons of the Walter Stuart, whom David I. had selected for honour, founded different branches of the Stuart families, those of Darnley, Lennox and Aubigné. The Fitz-Alan officially known as the fifth hereditary Steward of Scotland (1243–1309) was

one of the six Scotch regents, on the death of Alexander III. The son of this James, being the sixth Steward (1293–1326), distinguished himself at the Battle of Bannockburn(1314) between Robert Bruce of Scotland and Edward II. of England. As reward for these services, and especially for his defence of Berwick against the English, he received (1315) Bruce's daughter Marjory in marriage; Walter, sixth Steward, thus became the progenitor of the Stuart Kings of Scotland. A descendant of these Stewards (now Stuarts) who owed their Scotch royalty to Robert Bruce was James IV., King of Scotland. He, in 1503, married Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII., of England. In this way, on the death of Elizabeth, in virtue of their marriage connection with the Tudors, themselves sprung from a Welsh country squire, the descendants of the Norman Fitz-Alan, now known as Stuarts, and naturalised in Scotland, became the reigning house, south as well as north of the Tweed.

Had the will of Henry VIII. been exactly followed, the Stuart accession would have been avoided; the Tudor Crown would have gone to a member of the English House of Suffolk, to William Seymour, a son of that Earl of Hertford who had married Catherine, the younger sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. The Grey-Hertford marriage, however, was considered of doubtful legitimacy; the Seymour family was without any following in the country; while on the other hand their position in the direct line of descent from the English Tudors had long made the members of the Scotch Stuart branch of the Tudor family the popular favourites; and, but for Elizabeth's objection to his proclamation

by name, James VI. of Scotland, the great-grandson of the daughter of Henry VII., would have been styled, years before the death of that queen, heir apparent to the English crown. On her deathbed, however, Elizabeth definitely indicated her "cousin of Scotland" as her heir. The hard but genial common-sense of the Tudors, as has been already seen, had reconciled their subjects to the arbitrariness of their rule. The last Tudor queen had now cancelled the testamentary arrangements of her father, in order almost, as it would seem, to complete the contrast between herself and her successors, by giving her people experience of a dynasty which in all practical points was to present a tragic contrast to her own, and to prepare the way for its own destruction by the disregard of all those examples that the Stuarts ought to have cherished as their most precious legacy from the Tudors. Tudor absolutism had never appreciably impaired civil and political liberty as those privileges were then understood in England. The decisive defeat of Spain, whose government was a synonym for tyranny; the final severance between England and Rome in religious matters; the establishment of the right of private judgment in secular affairs; the influence of the revival of learning; the stimulating, the socially and intellectually emancipating results of the discovery of new worlds; the political supremacy of the popular House of Parliament:—these events had proved agencies for diffusing throughout the country that passion for liberty of all kinds noticed by Hallam as specially distinguishing the English people, and never a more actively animating power than at that period. No dynasty could have desired conditions more favourable for its commencement than

those which fell to the lot of the Stuarts. The title of this house was not indeed more in accordance with strict hereditary right than had been the claim of the earlier Houses of York or Lancaster, or than was to be that of the future House of Brunswick. But to the popular mind the Scotch successor seemed beyond a doubt the rightful heir. The attempt to exclude him would have been as unpopular as it would probably have been impracticable. "The wisest fool in Christendom," was the description given by the French king of this first Stuart. James I. in fact, while not without some good qualities, displayed in his own person most of the perversities characteristic of his race; in his earliest policy he foreshadowed the invincible wrong-headedness which was to prove the ruin of his dynasty. An exaggerated notion of his skill in kingcraft, in statesmanship; a systematic disparagement of the wisdom of honest counsellors; an indifference to the clear signs of popular opinion; an entire absence of the Tudor faculty of understanding or of moving with the spirit of the age; a fatal readiness to listen to and to act upon the interested advice of servile ministers and court parasites;—these were the generic failings of the Stuarts; they were none of them wanting to James.

The atmosphere of a court inhaled by princes with their breath is the natural disadvantage besetting from infancy an hereditary king. James I. had been a reigning monarch so long as he could recollect anything. His youth had therefore been assailed by all the untoward influences to which sovereigns are exposed. From his tutor, the most learned Scotchman of his age, George Buchanan, James had acquired more knowledge of the history

and theory of government than belonged to most of his subjects. He had, however, learned nothing of the changes which had recently come over the thought and temper of the English people, or the contrast between the conditions of popular political and religious life, north and south of the Tweed. In Scotland he had seen the Presbyterian clergy exercising a moral supremacy over all classes of the people. He therefore assumed that in England the bishops, as a more august hierarchy than his native land possessed, would at least enjoy a corresponding degree of power.

During his journey to London, which he reached in the May of 1603, James visited many of his nobles whose houses were in his road. Once across the border he saw these highly placed subjects to be much less powerful on the south than on the north of the Tweed. The new king therefore seems to have formed the design of controlling the English people through the prelates, and not through the nobles. While still on his southward progress, James met a man accused of some petty roadside theft; without any form of trial, the royal order went forth to hang the offender. That was the earliest exaltation by the first Stuart of his prerogative above the law.

Scotland in the seventeenth century resembled England in possessing a parliament of its own. Any likeness between the two assemblies ended with their names, for the Scotch Estates, in respect of independence and power, had nothing to compare with the English House of Commons, whose rise to practical supremacy had been the chief event, during the two preceding centuries. James either never realised or he contemptuously ignored this fact.

One among his earliest acts as English sovereign

almost amounted to a challenge thrown down by Crown to Commons. That body had not then quite recovered from the wounds which the Tudors, while never forfeiting its affection, sometimes gave to its self-love. It was therefore in an ill mood for a lecture on its duties, by a royal teacher who took upon himself to instruct it in the whole art of parliamentary deportment. In a long and pedantic letter the new king instructed the constituencies as to the men they were to return to Westminster. Outlaws, bankrupts, candidates noted for superstitious blindness or for turbulent humours, and other varieties of undesirable characters were to be carefully eschewed by the electors; finally, all returns to elections were to be made into the Court of Chancery; if in any case the royal proclamation had not been acted on, the choice of such constituencies would be cancelled.

A memorable instance soon occurred for joining issue between the Commons and the Crown. Sir Francis Goodman, an outlaw, was one of the members returned for Buckinghamshire. The Court of Chancery declared the election void and ordered a fresh writ; the result of the second election was the return of Sir John Fortescue. Goodman claimed, and by the House of Commons was allowed, to take the seat he had first won. During the controversy which followed, in reply to the insistence by the House of Commons on their rights, James asserted the doctrine that all matters of such privilege came from his grant; the rival members successively returned both withdrew; another writ was issued; an entirely fresh candidate was this time returned.

The opening battle between the new king and his parliament may therefore seem to have been drawn;

practically, however, it was a defeat for the sovereign, whose claim to override a constituency and the Commons had not been allowed. This opening incident in the struggle between the Stuarts and their people derives special interest from the fact that the future Lord Chancellor, then Sir Francis Bacon, M.P., was the leader on whose advice the popular Chamber acted throughout the episode. About the same time the Commons won, though not so directly against the king, another victory on a point of privilege. The immunity from arrest on any civil process of members of the Lower House had long been claimed and even largely recognized; nevertheless one of their number, Sir Thomas Shirley, was actually imprisoned in the Fleet for debt.

The Speaker of the House of Commons intervened; the member was released; by an early statute of James I., the full exemption claimed by the House for its members was legally secured. The plain tendencies of the time, therefore, might have warned the king of the inopportuneness of any quarrel with the Commons. The development of the differences between James I. and his parliament contained incidentally several notable proofs of the political and national importance of the "personal factor" in English sovereignty. The king's constitutional indiscretions were all aggravated by the style and demeanour of the man, by his want of personal dignity and by his socially unpleasing habits. The unfavourable impression which he produced deepened at each new stage of his journey from the North. Before he entered London his unpopularity was secured. He contrived especially to offend two classes that English sovereigns have generally

found it worth while to conciliate. Not content with publicly snubbing his wife on the journey, he made enemies among many others of her sex by insisting on their presentation to him on their knees. At the same time he managed to ruffle the sensibilities of the military class. Officers and private soldiers were peremptorily told to sheathe their swords, since the new king brought with him peace.

The peasants and artisans who flocked to gaze upon the royal progress were rudely bidden to keep out of the way; instead of the general good-morrow the Tudors, and especially Elizabeth, always gave these people, the Stuart king growled out a curse.

These things, even more than the case of the untried but promptly hanged pickpocket, caused Sir John Harrington to exclaim, "I hear our new king has hanged one man before he was tried; it is strangely done: if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he has offended?" * Sully, the French ambassador, sent to congratulate the new king on his accession, has filled many pages with instances of the slights and insults to persons of all degrees, which, as it would seem, in pure wantonness, James flung about him. As if to complete to his own disadvantage the contrast between Stuart and Tudor, the new king gratuitously took occasion to disparage his predecessor and absurdly to insinuate, that through her ministers it was he who had really ruled the land during the closing years of Elizabeth.

The shrewd common-sense of the free English masses knew instinctively the contempt which a

* Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, quoted by Hallam's *Constitutional History*, Vol. I., p. 402.

Tudor would have felt for this Stuart, who so maladroitly insisted upon the pomp and circumstance of kingship, and who, when issuing his first kingly proclamation, in language equally pompous, unconstitutional and unwise, claimed for the crown a power above the Law. To the great majority of Englishmen such pretensions were as novel as they were repulsive. Tudor imperialism had never arrogated to itself any superiority to the statutes that its subjects were required to obey; while James I. would also have done well then not to ignore the fact that, towards the close of her life, even Elizabeth's popularity had suffered from her high-handedness with the Commons.* A like spirit of supercilious unwisdom marked all the early displays of that kingcraft on which the first Stuart so absurdly prided himself. Before James left Scotland for his new kingdom, in his book the *Basilicon Doron* had been expressed sentiments, implying some toleration of the Presbyterian polity. The millenary petition, the result of the Anglican and Nonconformist conference at Hampton Court, did not ask for more than the king's Edinburgh book had allowed not to be unreasonable. But before the Hampton meeting took place the king had decided against toleration of or compromise with the Dissenters; the millenary petition was the signal for a policy towards them as severe as had already been enforced against the Roman Catholics. But the Protestant measures were strongly supported by the intensely Protestant parliament, which of course was further embittered against the king by his treatment of the Noncon-

* For the original documents bearing out these statements, see the quotations especially from Carte in Hallam's Footnotes, Vol. I., pp. 401–403.

formists at Hampton Court. Before James had been five years on the English throne, he had made enemies among every class and interest of his people. The Gunpowder Plot showed the virulence of Romanist feeling against the Houses and the king; its failure was followed by fresh enactments against the fellow-religionists of its contrivers. In secular matters his relations with his subjects were scarcely more happy. The continued enclosure of commons exasperated the lower classes, who, under a leader nicknamed Captain Pouch, had openly risen against the government. The judges in the case of the Turkey merchant Bates had allowed the king's claim to levy for his own purposes a tax upon the importation of foreign goods. This had been followed by the publication of a new customs tariff with largely increased rates of duty. But though this matter had as yet provoked no breach of the peace, it had excited sullen, silent discontent throughout the land. Royal proclamations overriding the law; royal impositions or duties laid on without parliamentary sanction, had all been protested against by the House of Commons, and the more sagacious among the king's ministers saw that these pretensions, if persisted in, must lead to civil war. The younger Cecil, created Lord Salisbury in 1603, the ancestor of the present Marquis of that name, had suggested a compromise in this matter; its chief point was the commutation of the king's feudal dues —a varying amount—for an annual payment of £200,000. The result of these negotiations, which eventually were carried out, will be found on page 89. Nothing which James the First and the men who in Church or State eagerly made themselves the king's mouthpieces could do towards subverting

the foundations of the English political system was omitted. Cowell's Law Dictionary by the title of *The Interpreter,* published in the seventh year of this reign, formulated more emphatically than had yet been done the absoluteness of the royal power. "Though for the better and equal course in making laws, the king may admit the Three Estates to the Council; this" (Cowell's book set forth) "is not of constraint but of his own benignity." The Commons retaliated by a vote condemning the volume. At the same time the breach between the Court and the Nonconformists grew wider daily. Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had been accounted of Puritan sympathies. This primate, however, was above all things a courtier; on his initiative the High Commission Court, the earliest and the chief instrument of Stuart despotism, civil or religious, political or financial, became a most potent instrument of tyranny and oppression.

The most conspicuous defiance of parliament by any of the earlier English kings had been that which cost Richard II. his life as well as his crown, and which placed the House of Lancaster upon the throne.

Refusing to be warned by that experience,—after the death of Salisbury, in 1612,—the king, now entirely in the hands of his favourite, Robert Carr, whom he made Lord Rochester, makes no secret of his determination to quarrel with his Estates. His third parliament meets in 1621; the House of Commons shows its realisation of its immensely increased power by itself beginning the impeachment of Sir Giles Mompesson, for holding monopolies which were, by a statute passed in this session, declared illegal; about the same time the Commons

solemnly protest in their journal against the violation of their liberties; the king replies by sending for the book and petulantly tearing out the page of entry. Though still veiled by nominal peace, the struggle between the Crown and Commons for control of the Executive has already opened.

Now appear on the stage the popular champions whose names are foremost in the war between sovereign and people which was to fill the seventeenth century. On the dissolution of parliament in 1624, Coke, Pym and Selden already headed the list of statesmen pledged—not to destroy the monarchy, that indeed no one had thought—but to reconcile it with liberty.

The contrast between the characters in which were impressed upon their time the opposite personalities of the last Tudor and the first Stuart was noticed, not only by English observers, but by those foreign critics whose judgments are said to anticipate the verdict of posterity. Under both these sovereigns, religious affairs were of chief interest to all Englishmen. Elizabeth's dislike of the Commoners taking these matters upon them had been at least as great as was that of James. The methods on such occasions employed respectively by the two sovereigns were now compared by the public opinion of England and of European capitals, to the entire disadvantage of the reigning Stuart.

The opening years of the seventeenth century were marked by the progressive organization of that Puritanism in which the House of Commons so deeply shared. Had Elizabeth still been on the throne in the year 1604, when the Commons were supporting the Nonconformists against the bishops, the Tudor Queen would have objected not less

strongly than did James I. to the parliamentary intermeddling in the affairs of religion. The royal displeasure would have been expressed, however, in a way and with results very different.

An angry message to the House from the queen, a peremptory injunction to individual members not to meddle in such great affairs, incidentally perhaps a repetition of the earlier phrase, used to the Spanish ambassador, "these devils of Commons," would have been provoked from the queen by religious innovations, such as those which the Puritan party in the Lower House wished to force upon the bishops and the king. But the royal dignity would have been saved by the royal petulance accomplishing its object. The Commons would have humbled themselves before the imperious lady, with whose temper they were so well pleased to bear; for at heart sovereign and Chamber understood each other perfectly well: their jars were only those of a married couple, whose mutual loyalty is not in doubt. As, in Elizabeth's time, had actually happened in the case with Strickland, M P., some specially refractory or offensive Commoners might have been imprisoned for short terms, but between the queen's ecclesiastical prerogative and the iconoclastic reforms of the popular Chamber, a compromise would have been found; the feminine tact of the sovereign, the politic phrasing of the court managers on the one hand, of the Commons' champions on the other, would have persuaded both sides that they had surrendered nothing essential; that, in fact, each side had really won a victory. In the case of James I. the parliamentary or ecclesiastical situation presented no elements of difficulty new in themselves or such as Elizabeth had not often dealt with success-

fully; only a contrast in the temper of the sovereigns rendered a settlement, easy and certain under a Tudor, impossible under a Stuart. Whether it were the laying on of an unconstitutional tax, or the symbolising of a Church doctrine not entirely acceptable to the people, James insisted upon seeing in each practical divergence of the Houses from himself, not a difference of detail, easily to be composed, but an antagonism on principle, on which his kingly honour forbade him to yield a jot. The Commons were thus forced into a position of self-assertion, sooner than many of their leaders would have wished. In this way before the middle of the reign of James I., the disagreements between king and parliament hardened into irreconcilable differences. The Commons' vindication of themselves, or "form of satisfaction to be delivered with majesty" (1604), is full of a prospective as well as of an actual interest.

It constitutes, in fact, the parliamentary programme that the popular party was, hereafter, to carry through the Long Parliament. The attitude during these years of the first Stuart king, varying as it did at each fresh stage of the struggle, was destined to cost his successor his life as well as his crown. The late queen's sex and age were now declared by the parliament to have caused its members to pass over in her that which they hoped, in succeeding reigns, to redress and rectify.

Then followed a new insistence by the Commons on their exclusive right to judge of all elections to their body and their determination to hold their privileges. This address marks an epoch in the relations between Crown, Commons and Country, because it identifies more closely than had hitherto been done the freedom of the popular chamber with

the well-being of the whole people, which in person and estate could not but suffer from any sort of wrong done to its representatives. Finally, James is warned that neither the sovereign nor any other power is competent to disturb the religious settlement made by his recent predecessors.

Phrases like these may read now like political platitudes. But the English Constitution during this time was still in process of construction; the relations between the Sovereign, or any Court, Privy Council or Star Chamber to which he might delegate his power, were not as yet fixed. Though the Commons had long protested against the king's claim to override the law by dispensations with the operation of those parliamentary statutes to which he had himself assented, or to evade the money-voting power of the Lower House by forced loans or impositions of any kind; for beyond the court itself, there was a disposition still to regard these points as arguable and practically *sub judice.* The right of the sovereign to the money or other possessions of his subjects was, indeed, involved in the theory of absolute and patriarchal kingship for which all the Stuarts and their partisans contended.

Constitutional lawyers of the period did not quite unconditionally deny these pretensions. The present ceremonial and regulations of parliamentary procedure can scarcely be traced back to an earlier date than the Long Parliament.

Nor was it till after that assembly had done its work that the principles fundamentally governing the relations between the will or need of the sovereign and the goods or liberty of the subject were, entirely and finally, regulated after the pattern from which, to subsequent ages, any deviation seemed in-

conceivable. Views of the kingly prerogative and of the royal irresponsibility to the law of the land, and of the entire superiority to all consultative or representative bodies, however called, were not confined to court flatterers like Cowell, the author of the *Interpreter,* or to Filmer, to whom the Divine Right of kings over their subjects, as a dogma scarcely less sacred than those of Christianity itself, found its most unqualified expression in his *Freeholders' Grand Inquest* (1648) and his *Patriarcha* (1680). During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, parliament, in something like the form that is known today, struck deep root in England.

This was no sooner done than it became clear that of any parliament, the most active and essential part was that which was and still is styled and what was originally in fact "the Lower House."

Of that body the earlier functions were fiscal rather than legislative; but the control of the purse naturally involved power to insist on the redress of grievances; the capacities and performances of the Commons as the champion of popular liberties, and as the protector of the poor and small against the oppression of the powerful and the great, gradually and at a later date gave the House of Commons its national ascendency; it was a position won by slow but certain degrees; when any point of it had once been gained, there was no subsequent surrender.

Even under Elizabeth, Francis Bacon had played the part of mediator between Crown and Commons. He continued to do so under James. Together with the then Lord Salisbury, an ancestor of the marquis who in 1899 is Prime Minister of England, the philosopher, as an active member of the popular chamber, conducted one of the early conferences be-

tween the two parliamentary chambers. Bacon, upon the whole, no doubt possessed sympathies which may be loosely described as popular; he must have recognized in his own house the real depository of political power; his extravagant profession of loyalty to James I. did not prevent his cautioning that sovereign against his excessive flouting of the representatives of the people. But the initiative in national policy and the control of the executive power were never given by Bacon a place among the functions of parliament. Such high attributes could not have been conceived of by the philosopher as belonging to any other than to the first magistrate of the realm. All which Bacon practically did was to go a little further than those who held parliament to be an assembly for granting money, and therefore only to be convened in seasons of extreme necessity. Bacon's view in effect was, that parliament was useful for bringing the sovereign into personal touch with his subjects, and for enabling him to inform himself more exactly than he otherwise could do as to the necessities and opinions of the country.

Consequently the efforts of James I. to secure the money and the votes he wanted by the agency of a class of men who came to be known by the name of Undertakers—men pledged to secure from the constituencies the return of friends of the Court—might have seemed, to enlightened politicians like Bacon, unwise, but not what is now understood by the term unconstitutional.

Bacon himself was later, to his own cost, personally to anticipate the not yet formulated doctrine of ministerial responsibility to the people's House.

That theory had in effect asserted itself so early as 1450 by the impeachment of Suffolk. During

the Yorkist and Tudor period it had fallen into abeyance. Under the Stuarts it was revived in the case of the holders of monopolies—Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, as well as in the far more illustrious if not less guilty instance just named. The moral bequeathed to all succeeding sovereigns by the Tudors was that when kings use their power patriotically, their subjects will condone any excessive stretch of prerogative incidental to the noble end.

The lesson which the Stuarts never learned themselves, but which they have taught their successors for all time, is that for kings to misunderstand the convictions, or to trifle with the faith, of their people, will sooner or later lead to the forfeiture of their crown. Impressed by a Spanish original, James I. copied the part of absolute monarch by Divine right; he failed in it, less because he made despotism intolerable, than because he made sovereignty ridiculous. His ungainly presence, his uncouth manner, his gluttonies at the table, his slobbering over the favourites on whose arm he lolled;—these were the foibles which reduced him to an absurdity, which proved fatal to a man who had no reserve of moral character or patriotism on which to fall back. Some of the vices as well as all the virtues of his race this king possessed. The epithet pusillanimous has generally been applied to him; that quality, if it were his, did not at least include any fear of public opinion. Of that sentiment he detested the parliamentary representatives, who at times caused him secret fears for the security of his house. These apprehensions did not prevent him from flouting the prejudices and convictions of his people by insisting on the Spanish marriage of his son,—the future

Charles I.,—when all classes in England were most keenly opposed to it, and when the national disapproval might have involved the two countries in a war which would have made the king more dependent than ever upon this detested parliament. At this epoch the disfavour shown by an unwise and unpopular king to the third estate was the one thing wanted to rally the country round the Houses, to brace the energies of the Commons and to stimulate to further enterprise the practical ambition of that assembly.

The popular chamber had first learned its full strength under a king, part of whose policy was to depress it. Some of the Reformation statutes may have been the work of the King's Council alone. Most of them passed through the representative house, whose legislation thus, before perhaps itself was fully aware of what had been done, severed the English Church from the Roman See, and in doing so, for the first time realised the extent of its own power. James I. assumed the autocracy of a Tudor, without the ability or tact which every Tudor showed. It was, therefore, reserved for him, by the exercise of those attributes that were peculiarly his own, to consolidate the power and to confirm the social popularity of the assembly he abominated.

The growing ambition for a seat in St. Stephen's, noticeable in the reign of James, showed itself in the great influx of country gentlemen and their families into London, while the House was sitting; this, therefore, may be the period when the parliamentary session first began regularly to coincide with the London season. The king took very drastic steps to discourage this socio-political phenomenon of his time; he forbade, on as he alleged moral grounds, country gentlemen with seats in the House to bring

their wives and daughters up to Town; he issued repeated proclamations against the new buildings springing up on all sides within the metropolitan area, and especially against the size and height of the houses, which enterprising builders provided in the quarters then becoming fashionable for parliamentary occupants. That had once been the policy of some of the Plantagenets, especially of Henry III. and Richard II. It was not only abruptly ended under the House of York, generally, but the special policy of Edward IV., who revived or created outlets for foreign trade, caused that king to be regarded as the second founder of a national London (Alfred the Great having been the first). The reign of Elizabeth, being an unbroken period of national exaltation and activity, among the particular events favourable to the prosperity of the city, as the metropolis of the English world, witnessed the completion of the fortunes of those merchant-adventurers to whom our fathers had given a charter, and who now, in the commercial life of the city and the country, began to fill the place formerly occupied by the Flemings and Germans to whom Henry III. had assigned the Steelyard for a place of business, and who during many years had all the export traffic of English goods in their hands.* About the same time, silk manufacture, whose workers the policy of Spain had expelled from Flanders, found a home on the banks of the Thames; while the last charter granted by Queen Elizabeth was that issued to the East India Company. Long before London became a parliamentary or a pleasure capital, therefore, it had been firmly established as a national and

* The company lost its privileges in 1551.

cosmopolitan emporium and factory. The personal opposition of the first Stuart to the city on the Thames was alone wanted to add to the dignity, acquired by the place under the Tudors, the importance of being the parliamentary capital.

The session of 1605 marks, according to Hallam,* the commencement of this new era; that was the first parliamentary year in which the attendance of M.P.'s at Westminster so considerably and continuously increased as to necessitate the provision of fresh seats at St. Stephen's. This, therefore, was the occasion chosen with characteristic perversity by James for causing by his impotent malice the Londoners to identify themselves and their fortunes with the Commoners to a degree that they had never done before. The personal feeling of James I. shows itself in those fragments of confidential correspondence first discovered by the English historian Hallam, and quoted by him in those footnotes which are monuments of his research.† With such petulant complaints, threats equally impotent and contemptible were sometimes mingled by him whom Hallam justly terms "this absurd king." James urged on a bill, uniting into one kingdom the countries north and south of the Tweed (this was to anticipate the Scotch Union Act of a century later). Parliamentary delay annoyed the king, who now lost whatever

* *Constitutional History*, Vol. I., p. 419.

† Vol. I., p. 419. "The will of man or angel cannot devise a pleasing answer to the Commons' proposition, except I should pull the Crown not only from my own head, but also from the head of all those who should succeed unto me, and lay it down at their feet. I had rather live (as God shall judge me) like a hermit in a forest, than be a King over such a people, as the pack of Puritans are, who overrule the Lower House."

of common sense, good temper and dignity still remained to him. Again he wrote a threatening letter to the Commons; he would remove his court entirely to York; he would pass only half the year in England,—the rest in Scotland. The royal letter ended: "I am your king; I am placed to govern you, and shall answer for your errors; I am a man of flesh and blood and have my passions and affections as other men; I pray you do not too far move me to do that which my power may tempt me unto."

To their first readers these words must have seemed a grotesque echo or travesty of the reprimands which, when she thought them exceeding their discretion, Elizabeth would sometimes address to the members, and which, coming from a great sovereign, seldom failed to bring the House submissively and contritely to her feet. Now the Commons replied in words perfectly loyal indeed, but having in them the ring of a peremptory determination, that they held it to be their privilege to discuss all subjects of domestic or foreign policy, or any topic whatever which touched the interests of the realm, and that before the king imputed to the people's representatives at Westminster words or sentiments injurious to himself, His Majesty would do well, not to accept hearsay versions, but to ascertain what had actually been said in the assembly.

Not even with his favourites, such as Carr, did James take counsel before indulging in these outbursts; their practical result was to provoke not only a spirit of stubborn opposition and self-assertion in the assembly with which he was at feud, but to put it intellectually on its mettle, to inspire individual debaters with speeches of closely reasoned eloquence. Among these were Hakwill and Yelverton, whose

addresses have come down to us whole. These afford fair instances of the educating work which, not only in the assembly itself but out of doors, throughout the constituencies, the House of Commons was now doing. The days, of course, of printed reports of parliamentary debates scattered throughout the land were still far distant.

But news letters, as they were called, the earliest efforts at English newspapers, existed, and precariously published rough versions of the more notable speeches delivered. Above all there were in London the coffee-houses; in the provinces, there were the market-places, the market-day ordinaries in country towns, and many other such places or occasions when the electors could and did discuss with each other the arguments advanced by their members against the illegal duties and other impositions on merchandise levied by the king. In this way the House of Commons even now created an effective national opinion. For this and for the control upon his own arbitrary conduct which it could not but exercise, James had only his own foolish temerity to thank. Nor must it be supposed that resistance to these fiscal encroachments of the king came exclusively, or even always chiefly, from representatives of trading and urban interests.

A House of Commons had only become a real instrument of popular control, when, to some degree under the later Plantagenets, but more noticeably under the dynasty of Lancaster, the borough members became closely allied with the shire knights or county members. Whatever may have been wanted to render that fusion of parliamentary elements absolutely complete was now supplied by the action of the Stuarts towards parliament as the

trustee and administrator of the taxpayers whom it represented. The learning of Hallam * has shown that the country gentlemen regarded with special satisfaction, and that they warmly supported, the stand made by their House against the customs regulations by which the king interfered with the freedom of foreign trade. The next step, they shrewdly recognized, might be to tax their land and its produce. If the Commons had wanted allies to co-operate with them, for the strengthening their hands against the personal pretensions and policy of James, they would have found this support in the temper and declarations of a High Church Party. The Clergy in Convocation had (1606), in a series of Canons not officially promulgated, but perfectly well known and called "Articuli Cleri," embodied the highest views of Episcopacy held by Bancroft, the seventeenth century primate and most bitter enemy of Puritanism. The chief of these propositions derived monarchical government primarily from the Divine Ordinance, as analogous to the patriarchal rule of families. In return for their exaltation of the king's prerogative the clergy looked to the king to support the organized attempt in which they were now engaged to regain much of the ecclesiastical authority that formerly they possessed in the various courts and tribunals that the Reformation had put down. The ambition of the Primate Bancroft is compared by Hallam to that of his predecessor Becket.† These priestly designs were formulated in the petitions called "Articuli Cleri," with the special sanction of a favourite instrument of Stuart absolutism, the Star Chamber.

* Vol. I., p. 436.
† Hallam, Vol. I., p. 440.

The Elizabethan statesman, who had been Robert Cecil, and who at the date now referred to (1605) was Lord Salisbury, in one important respect foreshadowed the experience and the qualifications of his descendant, who in 1899 is Prime Minister of Queen Victoria. The earlier, like the later Cecil, differed from many of his order in having, before he was ennobled, long been a member of the Lower House. He had thus gained an insight into English feeling denied to those who were acquainted only with the House of Lords; he knew, as his royal master did not, how far in civil or religious matters it was politic to push the kingly prerogative. The nineteenth century Lord Salisbury is by his critics admitted to have a rare perception of what is practicable in either House of Parliament or with the nation at large. This faculty he acquired by his experience in the popular chamber. The fourteenth Earl of Derby enjoyed the same advantage. The case of the earliest Lord Salisbury of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows the faculty to be in some degree hereditary. Since the beginning of modern history, the first Stuart is the first king repeatedly and reluctantly compelled to recur to the popular House for money. The Lord Salisbury of Tudor and Stuart times may be called the first Prime Minister whose skill in managing assemblies and individuals delayed the precedent of pecuniary friction between the sovereign and the House of Commons.

The part played by the Lord Salisbury of James I. is also interesting, because of that minister's proposal of a measure (already adverted to) which may roughly be regarded as anticipating the idea of the Civil List, that came in with the Restoration of 1660. In 1599, Salisbury succeeding Buckhurst in

the Lord Treasurership, found the debts of James I., which had at one time exceeded a million sterling, still standing at the respectable figure of £575,000, while the ordinary State expenditure was in excess of the revenue by the sum of £81,000. The Tudor sovereigns, knowing that economy alone could qualify their dependence on parliament, had been careful to keep their money demands on the House tolerably low. Salisbury now succeeded in convincing James that the effect of a continuance of the royal profusion would be to place the Crown absolutely at the mercy of the Commons; the minister therefore advised the monarch to accept, and took upon himself to carry out, a scheme commuting the royal revenues for an annual sum of £200,000 to be granted yearly by parliament. Even Cecil's management could not prevent the Commoners using these negotiations as the opportunity to bring to an end those abuses of the royal prerogative which had come in with the Stuarts, especially the royal proclamations overriding the law of the land, and the oppressions practised upon the king's lay subjects by the ecclesiastical Court of High Commission. After much haggling the affair ended by the king's eventual acceptance of the annual sum of £200,000 in place of the various sources of feudal revenue, on which hitherto the crown had depended. Though in this way the question was settled for the time, the bargainings incidental to it had not shown the sovereign in either a dignified or a popular light. They had greatly increased among the Commoners a consciousness of their own strength, and among the people at large the conviction that in all such disputes in the future the final victory would rest with them. The belief of James that by what he regarded as king-

craft, and on the possession of which he specially plumed himself, he might yet defeat his Commons, seems to have been encouraged by the philosopher Bacon. In his turn that great thinker may have been actuated by personal feeling against the Cecils and especially against Salisbury. In France, titular honours seem long to have been sold by the sovereign; but in England, on the suggestion of Bacon, peerages were now for the first time offered for sale in the court market, while the king's necessities were further relieved by the creation and sale of hereditary knighthoods, as baronetcies, now for the first time granted, were originally called.

Hallam's opinion seems to be that Bacon's consciousness of his own commanding genius made him overrate his aptitude for parliamentary management. When the king organized his "undertakers," whose business it was to manage the House of Commons for him, the first step was taken in creation of the parliamentary organization of that court party, whose agency was to be seen at Westminster long after the Stuarts had passed away.* The great transactions of the succeeding reign, which were to give the Commons complete executive control, cannot be understood apart from these events which under James I. were at once the prelude to, and the preparation for, the coming struggle. The summary dissolution of his third parliament, by James I., in 1621, was followed by the imprisonment of Coke, Philips, Pym and other popular leaders. This was almost a rehearsal of the attempted arrest by Charles I. of the five members. As the reign of James I. draws to a close, there is no opportunity for the record of any great achievement; but it is as well to recapitulate the

* In the "king's friends" under George III.

substantial gains by the House of Commons, on behalf of their fellow-subjects and themselves, in the struggle which had occupied them continuously for just two decades. Not only had they asserted once more their exclusive power of taxation; they had caused the king to withdraw those proclamations by which he had levied for himself customs duties at seaports. Their exclusive privilege to determine their own contested elections, and to inflict punishment, of whatever sort, upon their own members, had been finally and, upon the whole, successfully asserted. As in the case of Floyd, one of their number charged with disrespectful words about the Elector Palatine, the new zeal of the Commoners was liable to terrible abuses; such were, perhaps, inevitably incidental to the final establishment in England of that devotion to popular liberty and parliamentary self-government which the misrule of the first Stuart had caused to take lasting possession of every class, the clergy alone excepted.

The great historical drama, on whose preliminary act the curtain had fallen when James I. ceased to breathe, was proceeding to its dénoûment, independently, for the most part, of the personal character of those who were actors in it.

With a face, whose constantly changing expression was the indication of a nature at once noble, weak, great, little, irresolute, shifty, obstinate, Charles I. combined some special fitness for his period;—a kingly bearing and an absence of the qualities that had made his father ridiculous. His subjects generally recognised in him a born ruler of men. He was, however, from the first, in an impossible position. The Commons soon ceased hon-

estly to wish for reconciliation with the king, or to allow him a fair chance of acquiring the real loyalty of the country. Between the parliamentary ideas, and the views, perhaps sincerely held by Charles I., there could be no compromise. There may have been a moment at which, by frankly throwing himself on his parliament, Charles, while flattering the self-love of the assembly, and preserving the dignity of the crown, might have obtained all he wanted from the Houses. That opportunity had gone, never to return. The democratic principle now counterbalanced the monarchical so far that an effective government, not resting on a basis of parliamentary support, had ceased to be possible; the House consistently had paraded its determination never to trust the king. The second Stuart inherited from his predecessor heavy arrears of popular grievances still waiting for redress. The reign opened with the affair of Buckingham, the real issue of which was not new. Of all their recovered rights, during their quarrel with James, the Commons prided themselves on none more than on the right of impeaching public personages at the Bar of the Lords. Buckingham was the minister of a king who refused to accept the doctrine of ministerial responsibility to the popular chamber, that really had been an early claim of parliament. In this matter there could be no compromise, as, quite correctly, King and Commons from the first both saw. The session of 1625 had been opened by Lord Keeper Coventry in a speech that struck the first note of a discord which nothing afterwards was to harmonise. "The incomparable distance between the supreme height of a mighty monarch; the submissive awe and lowliness of loyal subjects; the gracious condescen-

sion of His Majesty in inviting the Commons of all degrees to have their part in legislation together with prelates, nobles and grandees, so long as these Commons show they know their place." Such are the courtly phrases of the Chancellor's address, opening the session on behalf of the king.

To men flushed with their triumph over James, courtly banalities such as these must have sounded like irritating and impertinent anachronisms, suggesting less the courteous overtures of a king than the scornful challenge of an enemy. Further, the people's representatives were bidden by the new sovereign to remember that parliaments were altogether in his power for their calling, sitting and dissolution. As he found the fruits of them good or evil, they were to continue to be or not to be. The House of Commons managers of the Buckingham impeachment were Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges; before he had been king a full year Charles sent these leaders to the Tower. By doing so he was in effect declaring war against his whole parliament; for he did not limit his attacks to the Commons. Eliot and Digges were set at liberty when their House refused to do any business without them; but by this time Charles had opened his quarrel with the Lords as well. Not on any political charge, but because his son had contracted a marriage disapproved of by the king, the Earl of Arundel was imprisoned during the session; from another peer who had fallen into disfavour with his sovereign, the Earl of Bristol, the usual writ of summons was altogether withheld.

Thus at the very beginning Charles had united both Houses against himself. He and his advisers now proceeded to a step exactly calculated to alienate

from crown and court the great body of the people outside parliament. With a promise of payment within eighteen months, to which no one attached importance, royal letters under the Privy Seal, addressed to the Lord-Lieutenants of the Counties, demanded loans of varying sums. In support of this request, the government plea was, that the Commons having voted subsidies, the loans applied for must be legal too. Refusals were followed by arrest and summonses before the Privy Council. In this way five knights of the shire, Corbet, Darnel, Earl, Hampden and Heveningham, were sent to the Fleet Gaol; the gaoler met the writ of Habeas Corpus, demanding their liberation, with a statement that his prisoners had been committed to his charge, by special command of the king. Of course, some sort of literal precedent could be found for such action under the Tudors. But the nation had never accepted it as legal, and was less than ever in a humour to acquiesce in it now; for the chief justification on which the Attorney-General Heath relied in his case against the prisoners was less a precedent of any sort than the inalienable prerogative of the king to override the ordinary law. Such was the true meaning of the legal maxim, the king can do no wrong. The prisoners had been committed by the king's word; therefore they must have been committed rightly. Such is the sum and substance of the pretensions now put forth; the words chosen were so peremptory as to justify the suspicion that they were meant to accelerate and embitter the long since inevitable conflict. Some members of parliament imprisoned for non-payment were indeed released; they took their seats immediately; their very presence acted as a signal and an instrument for rallying a parliamen-

tary party against the government. These transactions culminated in the Petition of Right, declaring against gift, loan, benevolence or tax save by Act of Parliament, against illegal imprisonment of free men and against billeting in private houses of soldiers or sailors. At the very moment of his reluctantly accepting this document, Charles was consulting his law officers as to whether extreme circumstances, suspending the Petition of Right, which he had already accepted, might not justify arbitrary imprisonment. Such conduct does not look like an act of good faith; but the truth probably is, that not less than the Commons, did the king already regard the arbitrament of the sword as the sole means of settling the differences between them. Together with those which were political or secular, there were now being raised religious questions tending further to envenom the relations between the two parties. Archbishop Bancroft's oppression of the Puritan clergy, not yet titularly Nonconformists, was accompanied by declarations of the Divine Right of Episcopacy, such as only the very Highest Anglicans could accept. From the third or fourth year therefore of Charles I. date back those sectarian differences in English religion which have lasted to the present day; the questions in Church and State with which in the nineteenth century a Victoria has had to deal, have their roots in the seventeenth century controversies between the Stuarts and their people. Nor can the later developments be rightly understood without reference to the earlier disputations. With reference to these, the second Stuart at once declared himself a partisan. More particularly the "Sunday Question," which will claim a place among social matters connected with nineteenth century sover-

eignty, had been gradually taking definite shape since Elizabethan days; its position under Charles I. presaged most of those controversies whose occasion under Queen Victoria it has proved. The early English Church reformers bracketed the first day of the week with other holy days. An industrious people could no longer observe all those "*dies nefasti*" in which the old faith abounded. Sunday was kept with a new strictness. But not till quite the end of the sixteenth century was it regarded by any as an equivalent for the Jewish Sabbath; when it was seen in that light, the use of the term Sabbath for the Sunday became, as perhaps some would consider it now to be, the distinctive mark of the Puritan. The Stuarts had no sooner begun to reign than they infused fresh bitterness and heartburning into this question by adopting the book of sports, in which Evangelical Religion saw the hand of Satan, and by proclaiming by their clergy the legality of all sports and games on the first day of the week; bear-baiting under any circumstances, as contrary to the law, was alone excepted. The purely political effect of this step can scarcely have been foreseen by the Stuart kings. The House of Commons, still an intensely Puritan body, was all for the puritanical, as against the prelatical, clergy. A Bill introduced in 1621 for the better observance of the Sabbath, usually called Sunday, elicited from one Shepheard, a member of the House of Commons, the sneer that Saturday being Dies Sabbati, this should be called a measure for Saturday observance. In the then temper of his House, Shepheard might well have thought himself lucky to escape the earlier experiences of another member, Floyd, who had to endure the rack, the whipping-post, the pillory and a

ride through London on horseback, his head turned to the tail, which he had to grasp firmly in one hand, because he had spoken disrespectfully of the Elector Palatine. Shepheard paid for his flippancy by being reprimanded on his knees before the House first, and by being expelled from it afterwards. The Peers, however, substituted the term Lord's Day for the Sabbath, and the Commons accepted the alteration, but the word still retained its association with the anti-court faction. Among the theological differences which a conciliatory policy might have quite removed, but to which that now pursued gave fresh acrimony and vitality, was the opposition between the particular dogmas about free will and predestination, derived from St. Augustine, and the denial of original sin formulated by a monk whose real name was not Pelagius but Morgan.* To the House of Commons of this period, Arminianism, which, in the popular view, approached towards Pelagianism, was then not less an abomination than popery itself. James I., from the circumstance that one if not both of his parents had been papists, would, the Roman Catholics had hoped, have removed their disqualifications in England; he had shown a wish to be on good terms with the Vatican; but the Popery Plot at the beginning of his reign changed the whole situation; thus the repressive measures against the old faith were enforced more stringently than ever. As a fact, not only attendance at Anglican worship, but the communion in Protestant form, became the new test of conformity. Long,

* The Greek or Latin word is an attempted classical rendering of the Celtic Morgan (sea-borne). The heretic himself, a monk who never took orders, has also indifferently been called Irish and British.

therefore, before Charles I. had given proof of his real purpose, the Stuart policy had shown itself, at least in its results, to be one of new and universal embroilment between representatives of sects, interests, orders, factions and parties, civil or religious, as well as the introduction of fresh lines of cleavage or of new principles of mutual distrust and dislike into every portion of the body politic.*

Queen Anne being admittedly dead, an *a fortiori* inference would be that her predecessor Charles I. was dead also. "Nothing of the sort; on the contrary, he is as much of a living force in Oxford at this moment as if he were again occupying his old rooms in St. John's College." In words of playful hyperbole, to this effect, spoke the great Archbishop Whately, while revisiting Oxford during the first half of the century, to deliver his lectures on party feeling. The period of this utterance was lightly touched upon by Thomas Hughes in the Oxford sequel to his famous *Tom Brown's School-days.* The father of the hero of that book, a Tory squire of Berkshire, was horrified, it may be remembered, at finding a facsimile of Charles I.'s death warrant hung up as a Charter of English Freedom in the Oxford room of his son. Within indeed the memory of those still living it is that Oxford Conservatism in Church or State has ceased to be identified with the views and policy of Charles I. Whether in matters religious or political, the Toryism of the Oxford of Queen Victoria during some years cannot have differed very much from the doctrines in civil and ecclesiastical matters current at

* For an exact account of all these matters with references to original documents in proof of what is here said, see the last half of first chapter of Hallam, Vol. I.

the time of Charles I. Church parties on the Isis, on the eve of, as well as for some time during, the Long Parliament, in spirit if not in name, curiously anticipated those which divided the University and the town in the earlier days of the Tractarian movement, before Keble had preached his famous Assize Sermon or Tract 90 had disturbed the ecclesiastical atmosphere with the fury of a natural convulsion. In Stuart days there may have been no predecessor of William Palmer in a self-imposed mission to secure intercommunion between the Anglican and Greek Churches; the theologians of the Court of Charles I., never with the slightest prospect of success, were officiously trying to promote the ecclesiastical reunion of England and Rome. Then, as has ever been the case, all the zeal was on the High Anglican side. Rome was as consistent in 1629 as she was in 1899. Then as now, she would receive Protestants on condition that they forswore their heresy, and unreservedly submitted themselves to the authority of the Chair of St. Peter. Two acts of Anglo-Roman negotiations, undertaken within a few years of each other, never can have had the remotest chance of success. They were neither of them—with characteristic unwisdom—discouraged by the king; they both therefore gave the great body of the people fresh reason to dislike and distrust him. The hopelessness of these transactions to all save Charles was clear from the first. His minister had proposed that Rome should give up communion in one kind, and celibacy of the clergy. Cardinal Barberini, directly he heard of this, plainly told the king's agent Penzani that it would never do; that the whole Catholic world was against England; that therefore it was for her to accept, not to offer terms.

More interesting and more directly bearing on English Church politics under Queen Victoria is it to notice that, during the reign of the second Stuart, not only did the modern High Church party really organize itself, but that there was also laid by Chillingworth and Hales the foundations of the Broad Church School; of which in the reign of Victoria a mighty representative was to be the Whately whose pungent saying has been already quoted. John Hales, though later he approached to the latitudinarism of Chillingworth, had at one time been a follower of Calvin. Thus, all the schools of religious thought known under nineteenth century sovereigns were first systematised under Charles I. Hales was chaplain to Sir Dudley Carlton, the English Ambassador at the Hague, at the time when the Synod of Dort, in 1618–19, was discussing the doctrine of justification and grace. He made a report for the ambassador of all which took place in this assembly for formulating officially the true Evangelical Faith. One incident connected with Hales deserves to be mentioned, because it redeems from stigma some of his opponents, and shows that even this period of bigotry and persecution was beginning to be tempered by a spirit of justice and moderation. A pamphlet by Hales on the subject of schism, directed against the party of authority and tradition, and widely though privately circulated, caused Archbishop Laud to summon the writer to Lambeth. Hales readily promised that the tract should not be published. The primate showed himself better than the reputation his enemies allow him, by making the evangelical Broad Churchman a canon of Windsor.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL RESULTS TO LATER ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS OF THE EARLIER STUART AND CROMWELLIAN ERAS.

The conditions under which nineteenth century sovereigns have worn the English crown were the practical consequences of the work done by the Long Parliament. Some idea of the circumstances attending the assemblage of that body and accompanying its work is a preliminary essential to a right view of the sovereignty exercised by Queen Victoria and her immediate predecessors.

Before the opening of the latter half of the seventeenth century, all thinking men perceived a point to have been reached, at which new and more powerful securities than those constituted by existing laws were required for the maintenance of liberties, privileges and rights that were admittedly the constitutional property of English subjects, both collectively in parliament and as individual citizens. Hume and other historians of that extreme school can easily prove to their satisfaction the inconsistency with the true principles of English monarchy of the demands put forth by the parliament. But by assenting, in 1628, to the Petition of Right, Charles had in words withdrawn his claims to royal absolutism. Since then the king had in practice cancelled most of what, in 1628, he had conceded; he had continued to levy ship-money, to require money-gifts or forced loans, and to imprison those who proved themselves

refractory contributors; in so doing he had been supported by court lawyers; the countenance which these had lent him, they would, it was plain, continue to give. Unless therefore the House of Commons were prepared to efface themselves, as under Richard II. they had done, and by so doing to make themselves the laughing-stock of the court, they had no alternative but to exact fresh guarantees for their collective independence, for their personal liberties and for the enjoyment by those whom they represented of civil and religious freedom. The transactions of the Long Parliament can be unconditionally condemned only by those servile spirits to whom all parliaments seem unwarrantable encroachments on the kingly prerogative.

The most representative members of this famous House of Commons, which first met in the November of 1640, were men of neither a revolutionary nor an irresponsible character. They consisted largely of country gentlemen of good estate, of well-to-do citizens of London or other great towns—men who had both a substantial interest in the country, and every motive for preserving the existing equilibrium of the commonwealth. With the Stuarts had come in the policy of carrying on the government, so far as might be, without any parliament at all, or with parliaments precariously and at long intervals assembled. It was while the Houses were in abeyance that ship-money had been exacted. No one seriously believed that, with a consciousness of immediate responsibility to the House of Commons, the most audacious of court lawyers would have given the sanction of his advice to that expedient. Under the early Plantagenets, it had been understood that a twelvemonth should not expire without a parliamen-

tary session. There still existed a statute of Edward III., enjoining a meeting of the House every year, or, if need be, oftener. This law, though still unrepealed, had never been exactly obeyed, not because of its unacceptableness to the sovereign, but its unpopularity with his subjects; men disliked the trouble, expense and social derangement of frequent general elections. The first idea of the Long Parliament was to re-enact the obsolete statute of Edward III.;* a bill providing for annual parliaments was indeed actually introduced by Lord Digby; before the debate on its principles was concluded, it was perceived to be impracticable; in its passage through committee, the measure was so modified as to be transformed into the famous Triennial Act of 1641. Not without reluctance, but to the warm satisfaction of his people, Charles I. accepted that reform. Other instalments of popular legislation followed. The judgment of the Court of Exchequer against Hampden for refusing to pay ship-money was annulled. Once more, any tax, import or duty, not regularly voted by parliament, was declared illegal; since that time the necessity of restraining the crown from arbitrary taxation has not recurred. After this was brought in a Bill for regulating proceedings in the Court of Star Chamber. Before it passed, the measure was converted into one for putting down the Star Chamber altogether.

Another instrument of oppression went at the same time. This was the Court of High Commission, called into existence by a statute of Elizabeth, for dealing with ecclesiastical offences, but latterly employed against the laity, inflicting on them fines ad-

* See Hallam, Vol. II., p. 131, footnote.

mittedly illegal.* Not the demagogues or adventurers of transient popularity, but men, well-born and wealthy, of the highest repute in an age singularly eminent for steady and scrupulous conscientiousness; such is the estimate of the five hundred members composing the Long Parliament, given by the earlier historian, Hallam,† and abundantly confirmed by the latest authority on the epoch, Mr. Gardiner. Thus far, its legislation was not only moderate, but in the strictest sense conservative. It brought back in fact the rule of constitutional practice to the standard of the Plantagenets; it even relaxed, as has been seen, the principle of annual parliaments, recognized under Edward III., by the Triennial Act.

It was, however, a time of trial for the temper of representative assemblages. As the case of Floyd, already mentioned, shows, gusts of violent and vindictive passion unaccountably and not seldom possessed the Commons of the period. Resentment, suspicion and distrust loaded the parliamentary atmosphere. The personal graces, or at least the tastes and accomplishments, of the king served to hasten and embitter the struggle; the seventeenth century peerage boasted no stronger statesman or finer intellect than Strafford; by adopting the ideas of that minister, Charles incurred popularity; by deserting Strafford he brought himself into contempt. Like James I., a patron of Vandyck, and a good judge of painting, he splendidly encouraged art and artists. An uxorious husband, he bought expensive jewellery for his

* This act was repealed on the restoration of Charles II., when the High Commission Court became once more an instrument of even greater oppression.

† Vol. II., p. 141.

queen. Meanwhile the country was suffering from social and industrial distress. To the charge of bad faith with his subjects the Commons could now plausibly add that of heartless indifference to their misery. As for Strafford, he was conclusively proved to have wielded an authority greater than, legally, had ever belonged to the crown or than Irish viceroys had ever exercised; but the statute on which Strafford was arraigned dated from Edward III., and made a compassing of the king's death the criterion of treason. Whatever the guilt of a scheme to overturn the fundamental laws of the country, and to govern by means of a standing army, neither the laws of England nor the statute of Edward III. brought these offences within the purview of that act. The most sober parliamentary opinion of the whole proceeding expressed by a contemporary is perhaps to be found in the speech of Lord Digby on the Attainder Bill.* "As to the Earl of Strafford," said this speaker, "I believe him to be insupportable to free subjects, a grand apostate to the Commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be despatched to the other." Yet even thus, Digby, in effect, declined to be a party to the condemnation. "Not a crime, but a blunder," is the estimate of Hallam, the most impartial among historians on this episode, which was the immediate prelude of a series of acts of parliamentary violence whose unwisdom is less doubtful than Strafford's condemnation. The king and his advisers were now believed to be bent on bringing up an army from the North of England to overawe the parliament in London. There is no counsellor more untrustworthy, as well as more cruel, than fear. A sudden dissolution of the House

* *Parliamentary History*, Vol. II., p. 750.

might have plunged the nation in confusion; the Triennial Act, at a period of great popular excitement, and when the passions of the court party were roused beyond measure against the Commons, would not have seemed, perhaps might not have been, a sufficient guarantee against the evils now apprehended.

In another outburst of temper, morally resembling that which had prompted its barbarities against Floyd, and more exactly like the resentment and dread hurrying on Strafford's impeachment, the Commons during the early days of May, 1641, invaded the royal prerogative by asserting the pretension that their House could not be dissolved except by its own consent. The Lords suggested a time limit of two years for the operation of the measure. But then, as since has so often been the case, the peers entirely failed as a barrier to popular excitement. Within three days from its introduction, the measure had become law. The monarchy was thus for the time placed in abeyance, by legislation which, if continued in peaceful times, would have reduced the crown to a nullity. That designs to overthrow the Parliament and to enable the crown to rule by force were seriously meditated, with the approval of the king and queen, is perhaps not doubtful.* It is inconceivable that Charles should have accepted this new curtailment of his power with any serious idea of abiding by its terms. The king's judgment of the political situation had failed him from the first; he had now perhaps parted with a real desire to observe sincerity towards his people. From these two causes first flowed all those calamities which were to colour the stream of events during the rest of his reign. Henceforward on both sides states-

* Hallam, Vol. II., p. 156.

manship disappeared, and partisanship took its place; the popular leaders were controlled in all things by a personal and unreasoning prejudice against, as well as by a less irrational suspicion and distrust of, the king. The mere fact of any suggestion coming from the Royalists sufficed to discredit it with the Parliamentarians. The feeling against Charles was personal rather than political. Want of good faith he had indeed shown. Had he studied to give some proof of his sincerity, it is doubtful how far his opponents would have accepted it.

On that subject much that is significant will be found in all the dealings of the Long Parliament with Church affairs. On those matters the temper of that famous assembly showed pretty clearly the absence of any very deep convictions, still less of enthusiasm on spiritual issues. The House of Commons has never wanted for sincerely religious members. Its collective temper before and since the seventeenth century, during the Georgian period, not more than in Victorian days under Palmerston, may be described as indifference to, if not actual dislike of, religious controversies and their issues. The Reformation settlement of Henry VIII., or of his immediate successors, had met with passive acceptance. It had not, however, been followed by any general or organized reaction against it. Under Charles I., the High Anglican party, favoured by the king and led by Laud, had forced upon congregations ceremonies or doctrines more suggestive of the Roman discipline than many church-goers were prepared to receive. But for such unwise disregard of local opinion such as that now mentioned, the Bishops might have ruled the Church pretty much as they wished; but the High Anglican Episcopalians,

not content with toleration, aimed at absolute ascendency. Their pretensions led to the organization of "the Root and Branch Party," a name assumed by those who had determined to set strict limits to ecclesiastical ascendency. This party, in alliance with the Scots Commissioners, drew up a petition against the Episcopal government, which, with 15,000 signatures attached to it, was presented to parliament on December 11, 1640. Shortly after this a Bill was brought in by Sir Edward Dering, a Kentish member of a very old family, for entirely abolishing Episcopacy. The measure was carried by a majority of 31 votes. By procedure such as this the Long Parliament misrepresented not only national feeling, but in a collective capacity itself as well. A few of its members may have been actuated by hostility not only to the religion of the State but to religion as a guide of life, in fact to the Christian revelation. When that fanatically active minority carried divisions, as in the case of Sir Edward Dering's anti-episcopal motion, the whole assembly for the time put itself in a false relation to large bodies of its constituents. The king therefore, quick to observe the signs of the times, as well as to catch at straws, may not altogether unreasonably have calculated on the excess of the parliamentary extremists provoking a strong reaction in his own favour.

The real convictions of thinking Englishmen on the problems of Church and State now raised were represented less accurately by the Houses at Westminster than by the private company gathered around him at his weekly country-house parties by Lord Falkland at Tew. Those private reunions are among the earliest social agencies for making the opinion of

educated Englishmen, standing outside party lines, felt upon political organization.

The example, especially during our years of the nineteenth century, has been profitably followed by men who have themselves represented the political temper of Falkland and his friends. One Colonial Minister of our time, the fourth Lord Carnarvon, during the period between 1868–78, chose his weekly guests at Highclere on the same principles that Falkland might have issued his invitations to his Oxfordshire seat at Great Tew. Another statesman who in 1899 administers the colonies, Mr. Chamberlain, while as a Gladstonian Minister occupying something of a detached position, showed a like cosmopolitan eclecticism in his London hospitalities as well as in those of his country house, Highbury.*

Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, who once spoke of Charles I. as the holocaust of direct taxation, has written about the imperfect vicariate of the House of Commons. During the period now dealt with, the epigrammatic phrase is certainly to some extent applicable. It is true that there existed a tolerably universal feeling against disturbing the compromise between Geneva and Rome, which was the essence of the religious arrangements effected by the Tudors. At the same time the conduct of the Commons in perpetually passing extreme votes directed against the High Anglican Church and its essential feature, Episcopacy, was but too well calcu-

* Mr. W. E. Forster, alive during most of this time, Mr. A. J. Mundella, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. John Morley, each of them Mr. Chamberlain's frequent guests, could, most of them, have sympathised with Falkland's hatred of political extremes. If, among Lord Carnarvon's guests, these names would not be found, those of their equivalents were seldom absent.

lated to excite against themselves and their procedure an outburst of temper which, sectarian first, might easily become national afterwards. Such a manifestation might have made the King and the Church stronger than the most sanguine and devout of Royalists had ever dared to hope. As it was, the popular House contented itself with assuming so much of the executive power, hitherto the attribute of the crown, as to forbid the use of certain Church ceremonies in which Roman superstition seemed to lurk, and to send one of their members, Sir Robert Harley, on a roving mission of iconoclasm for removing or destroying crosses, pictures and figures wherever he could find them. The member employed on this work was an ancestor of the Conservative statesman* who after-

* Robert Harley (Oxford) first entered the House of Commons as a Whig in 1689. In 1704, having been successively Speaker and Secretary of State, he joined the Tories, and for a time was intimate with Bolingbroke. That friendship did not last, and Harley's official as well as political career came to a close 1714; he himself died in 1724, after having founded the famous Harleian Collection of Books and MSS. The Harley family is not the only historic instance contradicting the popular idea that, in the great political families of England, the same party faith is handed down uninterruptedly from generation to generation like the family jewels or the family plate. The most famous proof of devotion to King Charles I. and to the Cavalier cause, of the Stanley family, was given by that heroic Lady Derby, who, at Lathom House, held out against the Roundheads. For some time thereafter the Derby-Stanleys were reputed exclusively a Tory family. But the fourteenth Earl was a member of the Grey Cabinet, that carried the Reform Act of 1831–2. A generation later this Lord Derby was leading the Conservative party with Mr. Disraeli as his lieutenant. His ancient connection with extending the Franchise predisposed him in favour of the Household Suffrage Bill, by which in 1867–8 the "Whigs were dished" and the English Democracy, as it exists to-day, was created or organized; for no doubt now exists that, notwithstanding all rumours to the contrary, it was the fourteenth

wards became Earl of Oxford. The Harley family supplies one of the earliest among well-known instances of a family whose political faith has changed with its changing generations.

While the Harleys originally were a strong Puritan and Parliamentary house, the Stanleys were heroically Royalist (witness the siege of Lathom House). But the most famous descendant of this Royalist stock, the fourteenth Lord Derby, under whom Benjamin Disraeli served, had previously been a member of the Whig Government that brought in the Reform Bill of 1832. It is now a well-established fact that with this peer, and not with his deputy in the House of Commons, first originated the policy of dishing the Whigs by the Second Reform Bill of 1867–8.

As a fact, the parliamentary activity against the Church party does not seem an entirely disinterested instance of patriotic statesmanship. The more advanced leaders at Westminster realised that they had outstripped national and, in the manner explained above, almost parliamentary opinion as well. The Grand Remonstrance of November, 1641, implied a

Lord Derby, not the future Lord Beaconsfield, who must be held chiefly responsible for the conception and the passing of the Second Reform Act. On the other hand, together with the Prime Minister of 1899, General Peel, the Colonial Secretary Lord Carnarvon, unable to approve the democratic development, resigned his seat in the Derby-Disraeli Cabinet. Yet that branch of the Herberts to which Lord Carnarvon belonged was originally Whig. His father, in fact, once reputed a supporter of Lord Grey, was once thought likely to be included in the Ministry, which gave the Franchise to the Ten-Pounders. The expectation was not realised. The father of the Colonial Minister of 1867–8 became one of the bitterest opponents of the Whig Reform Measure, while it was going through the Houses. His son, therefore, who, more than a generation later, resisted a further extension of the Franchise, may have been animated by ancestral sentiment.

recognition of that fact. This manifesto was indeed notoriously an attempt to whip up Liberal feeling in the House and in the constituencies. It was and it could be at the time only regarded as a bid by the men who drew up the famous document for the more zealous supporters of the Protestant and Puritan faction. Movements to enable the king to rule without parliament were doubtless spasmodically going forward. In some of these ventures, Roman Catholics might be implicated, but the prevailing tendency of the Commons to detect Popish intrigue against the parliament was not of a too creditable kind and unpleasantly resembled an anticipation of the Titus Oates abominations of a later date.

To judge the conduct of a king by modern constitutional standards in an age when constitutional kingship was in effect unknown, is of course to be guilty of an anachronism and an absurdity of the grossest kind. Charles, like his ancestors, like indeed all kings of his own and earlier epochs, had been brought up to believe that he resembled and represented a divinity on earth. From his point of view he might fairly feel he had carried concessions too far; that, in admitting his responsibility to parliament, he had risked the displeasure of heaven, and that his assent to the Bill excluding Bishops from the House of Peers was open to the charge of being a more direct provocation of celestial wrath.

If the parliamentary champions protested that they could put no trust in their king's sincerity, the latter might reply that he could not prove his good faith to men resolved on denouncing his bad faith. To Englishmen of the nineteenth century a parliamentary army, with its existence depending on an

annual Mutiny Bill passed by the House of Commons, seems the most natural thing in the world. To a seventeenth century Englishman it would have appeared a disloyal monstrosity. But Charles I. never in terms denied parliament all right of army control. The armed force for preserving domestic quiet and repelling foreign attack had always been, as under Charles it continued to be, the militia, whose natural leaders and managers were the county Lord-Lieutenants. The king was willing now to admit the Commons to a partnership in his prerogative with respect to the militia; he would have agreed that the Lord-Lieutenants and the commanders under them should receive their orders from himself and from parliament. But the parliamentary demand for military supremacy was accompanied by others, which would seem to have involved the surrender of the essence of kingship in a civil as well as a military sense. These demands, known as the "nineteen propositions," insisted on the Privy Council and State Officers being nominees of the parliament, and as such bound to take and act up to such oath as the parliament might direct; if vacancies occurred in the council, while parliament was not sitting, they were to be filled subject to the future parliamentary ratification of the appointments made. The king's children were to be educated and marry as parliament might appoint. The militia and all fortified places were to be entrusted to parliamentary keeping. The Church government and the Liturgy were to be reformed by parliament. Further, was suggested an interpretation of the Coronation Oath pledging the king in future to accept any bill parliament might choose to pass.* Before

* This, as Hallam, Vol. II., p. 189, in footnote shows was

war had broken out, while the prospects of a parliamentary victory seemed to reasonable judges slight, the tone and action of the Commons were those of men refusing to be content with anything less than absolute supremacy.* Two of their members, Mr. Palmer and Sir Ralph Hopton, on the charge of disrespectful language, reflecting on the Assembly to which they belonged, were summarily imprisoned, and in the then mood of their colleagues might congratulate themselves on escaping the pillory, the rack, the public flogging at the cart-tail. Proceedings like these could not but, when war began, prove inconsistent with any deep or extensive popularity of the parliament, whose more prudent supporters began to perceive that further engagements, with the result like that of Edgehill at the beginning of the war, might open the way for a triumphant march of the king on London, and for his re-establishment in more than his original power or even his earlier demands. The truest estimate of the merits of this quarrel probably still remains that of Chatham, as quoted by Grattan in a speech quoted by Lord John Russell in his essay on the English Government (p. 55): "There was ambition and there was sedition; there was violence; but no man shall persuade me that it was not the cause of liberty on one side and tyranny on the other."

A parallel has often been drawn between the attitude of Charles I. to his opponents in the seventeenth century and of Louis XVI. before the outbreak of the French Revolution in the eighteenth century.

an entire innovation. The oath which Charles on his accession had taken, bound him only to the laws existing at that time, with no mention of the future.

* They insisted on practically depriving the Lords of their veto on Bills. Hallam, Vol. II., p. 193.

Both kings, it has been argued, fell, not because of their resistance to the popular demand, but because of their concessions. On the other hand, Burnet is only one of those who have established beyond a doubt that, but for his compliances with the parliamentary will, Charles would have had no following whatever. The real cause of the king's failure was the monopoly on the parliamentary side of the highest ability, civil and military, of the nation. The latest demonstration of military experts is that Cromwell proved himself one among the greatest cavalry leaders who have ever lived. His general aptitude for military organization and strategy has always been admitted by critics, less ready than Carlyle to make a hero out of the man.

Eliot was admittedly one of the ablest parliamentary debaters and managers, as well as among the most eloquent and convincing speakers, whom the English parliament has ever seen. Sir Harry Vane had no equal among the astute and far-seeing men of the world of his generation; during his lifetime and after his death, his name was a synonym for varied and world-wide experience gathered both in the old world and in the new; from his European travels, which included Vienna and Geneva, he brought back the hatred of Episcopacy that animated his whole career; from New England, to which he had sailed in 1635, and where he had acted as governor of Massachusetts, he returned with the political fervour which has won him immortality, as a type of English Republicanism. The king indeed could boast among his adherents of no eminence, energy or talent approaching to those on the opposite side now mentioned. But he retained the personal and indefatigable loyalty of men in both Houses like Northumber-

land, Holland, Lincoln, and Bedford among the Peers, like Waller, Pierrepont, Whitelock and Rudyard in the Commons. These were instrumental in swelling his army beyond the anticipations of many Royalists themselves, in securing for him his opening, if not sustained, successes, and in causing one part of the next year's (1643) campaign to be so entirely in his favour as to warrant the belief that a more spirited policy and less fitful energy on the part of the Cavaliers might have brought the war to an end, if not positively favourable to the king, yet less unfortunate than soon after its beginning shrewd judges foresaw it was likely to prove.*

If in religious matters the English multitude could not be moved to much practical enthusiasm, on one side or the other, the Solemn League and Covenant imposed by the Scotch Commissioners on the English parliament, and the malignity towards Episcopacy or any established form of Church government shown by the king's enemies, alienated and disgusted sober and impartial Englishmen. Both parties were responsible probably in nearly the same degree for those excesses of militarism which to the great body of English people made the Civil War a period of almost unmitigated misery. Mercutio's familiar words in Romeo and Juliet,—"a plague o' both your houses," would not misrepresent the popular feeling of the period towards the two combatants. The parliamentary demands involved a surrender by the king of those special prerogatives which hitherto had been unquestionably regarded as the especially inalienable rights of the crown. It is not easy for a modern reader entirely to realise this, but

* For the evidence from unpublished sources in support of this view, see the footnotes, Hallam, Vol. II., p. 211.

the misconceptions on this point mostly arise from the inveterate tendency to apply the criteria of constitutional monarchy in the nineteenth century to the admitted rights of the crown in the seventeenth. One instance will help us to guard against this fallacy. Before the Stuarts, the nearest approach to a regular army in England was the small body established by Henry VII., in 1485, the Yeomen of the Guard; these were charged with the defence of the royal person only; they numbered at first fifty, nor ever seemed to have exceeded two hundred; they should thus be regarded rather as the king's domestic servants than as a national military force. In addition to, but entirely independent of, these, some regular troops before gunpowder was in common use, known as artillery and armed chiefly with the long bow, were maintained at the Tower of London and other points throughout the land, such as Tilbury Fort on the Thames and Berwick on the Anglo-Scottish Border. As for the militia, so often mentioned in the negotiations between Charles I. and his parliament, these troops were in old days commanded by noblemen bearing territorial titles, and attached to the court. When, therefore, the Commons asked for the absolute control of these, their request seemed to imply a demand that the king should surrender his person defenceless into their hands. The request could only have been advanced or tolerated because of the outrage on all sides of national decorum inflicted by the troops who stood for the king, and who had brought with them from the continental war in which they had been employed the disorderly and licentious habits which came to be popularly regarded as the badge of the Cavalier.

The offence, thus given to the English sense of gravity and decorum, was resented even by those whose traditional sympathies in State matters might have ranged them on the royal side. Often, no doubt, there was little enough to choose between the men who stood for the king and the men who stood for the parliament; the former despoiled the country-side and its inhabitants, in the name of the Deity; the latter on the plea of the service of the State. Still, of the two, the Royalists seemed generally to have carried themselves as if systematic contempt of the whole decalogue were a more inseparable article of their faith than was displayed in the practice of the other side. This war was to average Englishmen a school not only of political discipline but of personal character as well. The sober earnestness which is to-day one among the chief attributes of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the recognition of which must guide the conduct of English sovereigns in all ages, engrained itself more deeply than otherwise it might into the national character in consequence of the experiences of any Civil War, as deplorable as, from the first, the bearing on both sides made it inevitable. The superiority, such as it may have been, of the moral conduct of the parliamentary troops may be attributed to the better arrangements for their comfort and the greater regularity of their pay. That regularity was, however, ensured by most unpopular means. Now first the English people heard of assessments,* especially in the shape of an excise on liquors. Other methods of providing money were the wholesale confiscations of Royalist estates. Thus to nearly all but the professional soldiers employed, and the military adventurers whose trade

* Hallam, Vol. II., p. 245.

was fighting, the prolongation of the war proved as unacceptable as it was unexpected.

Had there existed any organized means for decisively influencing public opinion, such as a newspaper press or a parliament, closely in touch with the constituencies—rather than, as the Houses tended to become, assemblies preoccupied with war and, at irregular intervals, meeting to hear and discuss the latest news from the field of battle—some of the repeated efforts to arrange a peace, and to formulate a compromise on the chief points in debate between the two sets of leaders, might have cut short the struggle. But while the English character was developing itself finally on new lines, the English parties in Church and State, well known to both subjects and sovereigns alike at the present day, were assuming their more modern and enduring shape. For all these organic processes in Church and State time was necessary. The war therefore went on, and the independent party, which, under Vane and Cromwell, had lately asserted its parliamentary existence, perfected the arrangements that preceded the decisive parliamentary victory of Naseby. Such were the early military fruits of Cromwell's "New Model"; that is the name given to the processes of elimination, by which the parliamentary force was reduced to not very much more than 20,000 men. While these were the events preceding the parliamentary victory of Naseby, all the incidents in gradual succession following that triumph, till Charles II. was restored to his father's throne, tended to convince the English people that when Cromwell stood victor on the field decisive, his feet were planted on, not only a sovereign and a monarchy, but a parliament and a people. While such proved in

truth the case, the fact remained that the great transactions, civil and military, of the Civil War and Puritan period, in many or most essential points, anticipated the principles, if not the details, of the Revolution Settlement of 1688. The place and functions of the sovereign in the English polity were, in fact, settled by the Long Parliament, which disposed of the first Charles, as if in preparation for the Convention which placed the third William on the Stuart throne.

Other legacies less important than the constitutional arrangements, but not less enduring or of an influence less actively felt, have descended to English sovereigns and subjects from the persons or episodes of the Civil War. The popular conception, not only of English Radicalism or Republicanism, but of English Liberalism as well; the diaries and biographies, recording the struggles for political reform during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in England, illustrating this statement. The earlier reproaches inherited from the seventeenth century had not been entirely lived down by the party of progress in England, to even so recent a date as the opening years of the present sovereign.

The English Republicanism of two centuries ago was of military origin. In Germany, during the sixteenth century, the fanatics called Levellers, with Muncer and Storck as their leaders, had denounced distinctions of rank as usurpations on the rights of mankind. The sovereign princes of Germany naturally did not accept this propaganda. Muncer and his Levellers in 1525 were defeated in a pitched battle by the Landgrave of Hesse. Muncer was beheaded at Mühlhausen. His followers never thoroughly rallied. Their doctrines, however, animated

their English namesakes, who in 1649 were put down by Cromwell. These English Levellers were chiefly led by Lilburne and Wildman. A second division of the ultra-republicans in England consisted of the Anabaptists, of the Fifth Monarchy Men and of other fantastic zealots, who ranged themselves under Harrison, Hewson, Overton, with one or two more or less well-known chiefs. Yet the purely political programme of these men was neither entirely pernicious or even altogether impracticable. Several of the points on which they insisted have long since been embodied in the English Constitution with no very alarming results. Parliamentary constituencies of more uniform size, as suggested by the extremists of 1648, did but anticipate some of the Chartist cries during the decade, 1838 to 1848. The fact of most of the "points of the charter," having since become the law of the land, might be cited as a late vindication of the seventeenth century Levellers' views. Thus to-day in England, the ballot—the dream of Wildman and his friends before the Chartists had been heard of—has not operated entirely as a revolutionary force. Every change in our electoral arrangements brings us nearer to those parliamentary areas of more uniform size, that have been the commonplace of reformers from Wildman to Feargus O'Connor, before they commended themselves to the practical statesmanship of the nineteenth century. "One vote, one value," is a conservative not less than a liberal cry. Even the principle of payment of members, a most ancient English usage, has been revived as the question of a later day. National education could not be a seventeenth century problem, or the Levellers, who demanded free churches, might have anticipated the free schools which,

in 1891, were the gift of a Conservative government to the country. As for free churches these only embodied the principles of toleration established under William III. after the fall of James II. Notwithstanding, therefore, the opprobrium attaching to Wildman, Lilburne, Overton, and many of their doctrines, a case might be made out for regarding these men, like the later Chartists, only as politicians a little in advance of their age. Both the earlier and the later agitators have in their way equally illustrated what may be almost called a law of English political progress.

An extreme, often a discredited, faction whose leaders will not merge themselves in either of the great parties of the state, frequently gives the initiative to great reforms by the pressure which it brings to bear upon the legislature, and by its steady refusal to rest till the change has been accomplished. So was it with electoral reform before the governing Whigs made that question their own. In no other way was Sir Robert Peel enabled to give the country Free Trade. Before that, in 1829, two years after the death of Canning, whose liberal ideas had been withstood by his high-born Tory colleagues, the Duke of Wellington, acting under similar pressure, conceded, as the one alternative to Civil War in Ireland, what he had declared to be a vital principle of the Constitution, and passed the Catholic Emancipation Act. The Reform Bill of 1832 was followed by acts commuting tithes, placing the Church of England revenues in commission, involving the principle of concurrent religious endowment. This legislation has but given effect to the ecclesiastical ideas of the seventeenth century Levellers. As in politics, so in jurisprudence, many, if not all, the law reforms

desired by the Levellers marked the Whig ministry under Lord Melbourne of Queen Victoria. Then it was that the struggles of Sir Samuel Romilly and his friends gradually accomplished their wise and humane object of mitigating the severity of the criminal law.

Between the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660 and the death of George IV., no less than a hundred and eighty-seven capital offences had been added to the Criminal Code. The first year of the Victorian epoch saw the abolition of the pillory and so extensive a remission of the death penalty as, if carried some years earlier, would have spared the lives of 1,400 persons; in other words, between 1787 and 1837, 1,400 persons were executed for crimes since the close of that period punishable by some lighter sentence than death. The fact that in the seventeenth century these legislative changes were advocated, chiefly or exclusively, by politicians labelled with an ill name, explains the intensity of the prejudice against reform, which it took more than a hundred years to remove.

As has been already said, there is no point which Hallam emphasises more circumstantially than the importance of the year 1641 as that in which was permanently established the modern polity of England. Long after the end of the seventeenth century the cause of political reform in England appreciably suffered from the absurd tradition which associated the most respectable of Whig reformers with the Levellers of 1647. Hanoverian Tories of the eighteenth century could persuade themselves that those who proposed a widening of the parliamentary franchise were the disciples of Lilburne or his colleagues, and that if the country were to be saved such an in-

novation must be put down by the strong hand of a later Cromwell. For it was not till the nineteenth century had fairly opened—had perhaps even witnessed the queen's accession—that the alarming character of the precedents for these reforms ceased to be generally identified with the movements against Church, State and Sovereign of more than two centuries earlier, and that those movements were finally banished to ancient history.

Outside the region of politics and churchmanship, Charles I. possesses certain affinities to the accepted type of nineteenth century sovereignty. He was among the very first of English monarchs to set the example of encouraging the fine arts and of attracting painters of European fame to his capital and his court. In 1885, John Everett Millais was made a baronet by favour of Queen Victoria. More than two centuries before, the son of the silk and woollen manufacturer of Antwerp, the pupil of Rubens, Anthony Van Dyck, was knighted by the English king, often appeared among the royal guests at Windsor, and, settling in England, became the vogue with the aristocratic connoisseurs of his adopted country. The social and political disorders following the defeat and death of Charles I. proceeded exactly in the course which political thinkers from Aristotle downwards had prescribed, and which in our day is still illustrated by the events and personages in the history of the Latin races. The military dictatorship of Cromwell, never popular nor in itself desired, was the one refuge from "red ruin and the breaking up of laws." The restoration of Charles II. was the sole eventual remedy for the personal rivalries of the men about Cromwell, which preyed like diseases on the body politic; these maladies may be re-

garded as the social and political plagues, generated by the sanguinary absolutism that led Charles I. to the scaffold.

Does the enthusiastic restoration of Charles II. prove the innate loyalty of Englishmen to kingship to be such a national and ineradicable sentiment as to make a republican form of government in England forever impossible? The most powerful and successful republic which the modern world has seen, that of the United States, established by Anglo-Saxons, and largely by Englishmen, may caution one against answering this question too affirmatively. The truth would seem to be, as indeed Hallam has implied,* that upon this subject all hasty deductions from experience must be unsafe, that the operation of general principles is precarious and that the establishment of a free commonwealth depends for its success or failure upon temporary agencies, whether of individuals or events, generally described as accidental. The transactions leading up to the return of Charles II. were first visibly guaranteed against miscarriage in 1659. The words commonwealth and republic have never sounded agreeably or familiarly in English ears. In 1659 they were detested by all classes, and associated with incidents or personages loathed or dreaded by every class from their connection with current or recent events. There had just passed ten years of armed Cromwellian despotism, in comparison with which the autocracy of the late king had been gentle. To the average citizen Cromwell seemed a canting and cruel tyrant, whose course was marked by the wholesale confiscation of private estates; by the staining of the land with the blood of,

* Vol. II., p. 372.

if not innocent, untried Englishmen; by the sale of others into West Indian slavery; by the exclusion of English families of cherished or historic name from all active share in the life of the nation; by the persecution or suppression of the national Church whose liturgy, unpopular at first, was now deeply rooted in the reverent affections of the people.

Under these circumstances, upon the Protector's death, the Restoration of Charles II. could only be a question of a very short time. Oliver Cromwell's strength was in his policy, his work, above all in himself. These could not, like his titular authority, be bequeathed to any successor. The point to which he raised the power and authority of England abroad first, somewhat to their surprise, taught his countrymen that royalty was not an essential condition of paramount empire. This part of the Cromwellian tradition has descended as an animating force to those politicians of our time who, while accepting some of Oliver's political ideas in home affairs designated by the epithet liberal, especially admire and would reproduce the Cromwellian Imperialism beyond seas.

"*Voilà un homme dangereux, un républicain doctrinaire.*" Such was the estimate of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain pronounced by a well-known diplomatist and a very acute judge of human nature, a former foreign minister in London, many years before the Birmingham statesman became a colleague of Lord Salisbury. Such indeed had always been the political temper of Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Newdegate, the old-fashioned Tory member for Warwickshire, speaking about the same time, recognized in the future Colonial Secretary the political temper which must ultimately identify him with Conservatives. Mr.

Chamberlain is known to have carefully studied the foreign and imperial policy of Cromwell, and thus the Lord Protector of the seventeenth century may really be spoken of as the founder of a political school whose watchwords are liberalism and empire.

Politically, no man resembled the Protector so little as his sons.* Richard Cromwell is thought to have taken a part in the negotiations which brought back Charles II. After the Restoration, Richard lived abroad for some time as Mr. John Clark. Returning to England in 1680, when Charles II. was on the throne, he is represented in a well-known anecdote as visiting the House of Lords, when the king had just taken his seat upon the throne. A stranger, not recognizing him, casually asked Richard whether he had ever been there before? "Not," was the perplexing reply as his finger pointed to the throne, "since I last sat in that chair." Richard himself settled down into a grower of roses at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, lived there a life blameless and obscure, dying early in the eighteenth century; he was clearly remembered by many of the country people with whom in his youth another Hertfordshire man, the novelist Bulwer Lytton, conversed; whence, no doubt, came the sketch introduced into the novel mentioned in the footnote.

Charles II. may have scandalised the feelings of his age and country; his successor, James II., more seriously outraged popular rights and parliamentary privileges. Yet the monarchy to which the Stuarts were restored in 1660 may be described as the modern

* A more life-like portrait of Richard Cromwell than historians have drawn is to be found in the spirited sketch of him contained in Bulwer Lytton's novel *Devereux*—a book also enriched by an equally graphic picture of the famous Lord Bolingbroke.

sovereignty based on public opinion, limited by all the statutes, including those of the Long Parliament, enacted for the better security of the subjects. Meanwhile, too, some of the moral influences of Oliver's Protectorate survived the Stuart Restoration. Personally, Cromwell seems to have been of a tolerant disposition. In 1655, indeed, the discovery of a royalist conspiracy was followed by an Ordinance forbidding ejected ministers or academics to act as domestic chaplains or schoolmasters; this, however, was accompanied by promises of relaxation in special cases, conditional on good behaviour, and it was never rigorously enforced. Episcopalian conventicles were tacitly licensed in London. Pepys mentions in his Diary that even in Puritan Oxford, Dr. Owen, Dean of Christ Church, connived at the Sunday meeting of at least three hundred Episcopalian Anglicans. Nor, notwithstanding the spiritual abomination in which the Puritans held them, were Roman Catholics residing in England ever less molested than under the Protectorate. Finally, after an exclusion of some three centuries, in spite of the protest of legal and ecclesiastical bigotry, Jews were now readmitted to London and other towns. Thus from the period of triumphant Puritanism dates the emancipation of the proscribed race and the beginning of its steady rise, first to equality and then, in some remarkable aspects, to ascendency. As the death of Charles I. and the republican interregnum of Cromwell had not permanently impaired the English monarchy, nor weakened its hold of the English people, so the return of Charles II. from Breda, and his enthronement by the Convention Parliament, in no way arrested the process of the adaptation of English sovereignty to

those constitutional changes which were not to be finally complete till the last Stuart, James II., had made way for the Prince of Orange, William III. Feudalism died out of England more gradually and later than is sometimes thought. The military tenures of continental feudalism were introduced into England with the Norman Conquest. They remained in force after the second Charles had been placed upon his throne. Nor was it till 1673 that by Act of Parliament the tenure of land by military service was converted into the freehold tenure of the present day, and by way of compensation to the crown for the loss of income thus sustained an excise on beer and some other liquors was granted. The revenue thus secured to the crown was £1,200,000 or so—a sum that did not include provision for the standing army which even then parliament would not tolerate and which became an institution after the Stuarts had ceased to reign. By way of guarantee against the diversion to improper ends of the moneys voted by parliament, the practice instituted at the Restoration was a reversion to that which obtained under Richard II. and Henry IV., when the mediæval House of Commons touched the high-water mark of its executive power. Under both those earlier kings, supplies had been exclusively appropriated to the purpose for which they were raised; under James I., the funds voted for the war in the Palatinate had been guarded against misappropriation by parliamentary commissioners in the same way. It was not till the session of 1655 under Charles II. that the possibility of misappropriation was organically prevented by the parliamentary acts of raising the money. Private vices, so runs an old and rather fallacious adage, are public benefits.

But for the rapacity of Clarendon and of other ministers of Charles II., there might not have been instituted thus early those financial arrangements practically anticipating, as they did, the machinery of estimates under which every sum required by the public service has been noted since the days of the second Charles.

It might not be correct to speak of Charles II. as "the glass of fashion and the mould of form" for succeeding princes, but his ethical precedents entirely excepted, some of the personal traits which marked the bearing of this king towards his people might perhaps be spoken of as among the social traditions of English sovereignty. The attributes might be referred to a still earlier dynasty than the Stuarts. The ease of manner and geniality of address which more than reconciled their subjects to their dictatorial authority in the case of Henry VIII. and his masterful daughter Elizabeth, were beyond a doubt the kingly legacy of the Tudors to those who afterwards sat in their places. "My favourite Sultana Queen is 'sauntering.' Though not much of a walker, I could back myself to saunter against any man in England;"—these and other equally familiar and characteristic sayings attributed to the second Charles not only indicate the character of the man, but might have been taken as mottoes by more than one royal personage since his time.

Of such personages, their conversational habit of easy humour, spiced by genial cynicism, would go far to explain their popularity with the masses. Everything which Charles said or is even reputed to have said about himself, to some degree reveals not only the man but the royal school whose earliest founder he was, and which will probably not die out

while English sovereignty exists. To have things as far as possible his own way; as the best means to that end to keep himself in the background; to place in the foreground ministers whom he at least believed he could trust;—these few words faithfully epitomise the kingcraft of the man who has earned the name of the "Merry Monarch." The epithet may not be misapplied, but the painters of the portrait of this king show us in his swarthy features a face full of acuteness and power as well as one revealing signs of a self-indulgent habit.

What can be better than his own words about himself to Lord Essex: "He did not wish to sit like a Turkey Sultan and sentence men to the bow-string; but he could not bear that a set of fellows * should inquire into his conduct." The fellows, of course, were the members of parliament. Liberty, or, as he would have put it, "his own way," rather than power; less prerogative than freedom from control or criticism, were the aspirations of Charles II., as they had been of so many of his descendants. And it should always be remembered that the good-nature of Charles II. was no mere affectation. Some of those directly responsible for the execution of Charles I. were put to death barbarously enough. Vane, among the noblest Englishmen of his day, author of the epigram, "The best of men are but men at their best," and Lambert were neither of them regicides; they had only done that which a statute of Henry VII. entirely legalised, in obeying a *de facto* government. Vane, however, went to the scaffold and Lambert was kept in close confinement for life. These instances of severity were, however, exceptional.

* Burnet and Dalrymple, as quoted by Hallam, Vol. II., p. 509.

That the Restoration in England was accompanied with comparatively so little bloodshed is largely due to the personal good-humour of the restored monarch. Among the modern affinities, as perhaps they may be called, of Charles II., may be mentioned one more, which has a special interest for an age whose intellectual culture is, like the present, so largely of a scientific sort. The story of the gold-fish in the bowl of water ("Odds! man, they do make it overflow!") is the well-worn anecdote, most familiarly illustrative of the king's interest in scientific or quasi-scientific matters.

So early as 1645, when Charles I. was still reigning, when the impulse to scientific inquiry given by the *Novum Organum* of Bacon was new, men interested in scientific matters, the early pioneers of the Royal Society, met in London. Later on in the seventeenth century, these meetings were transferred to Wadham College, Oxford. Later again the savants reassembled in London once more; lectures at Gresham College attracted enlightened audiences; they were under royal patronage. In 1662 was constituted by charter from Charles II., as a body politic and corporate, the President, Council and Fellows of the Royal Society of London for improving natural knowledge. The first anniversary, in 1663, of this body is recorded by Evelyn, in his diary entries for St. Andrew's Day of that year. The philosophical transactions began a little later in 1664. In 1668 Sir Isaac Newton invented his reflecting telescope, now owned by the society. In 1686 the philosopher gave to the body the MS. of his *Principia*, which a year or two later was printed by order of the Council under the superintendence of the Astronomer Halley. These events mark real epochs in the systematic study

of physical phenomena in England. The interest in them taken by Charles II. is as undoubted as it was useful. Those who to-day look at the books of the society will see in bold characters in an early place the signature of Charles II. Continuing to turn over the pages till they reach the beginning of the Victorian epoch, they will also note the beautifully clear caligraphy of her present Majesty about the year of her accession. The personal interest of the Prince Consort in all scientific pursuits and his care that his children should receive education in the rudiments of physical science have, of course, in our time popularised these studies. It is worth remembering that an earlier step in this direction had been taken by the first English sovereign who ruled after the eleven years' republican interval in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF MODERN ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY.

The various periods associated with the individual sovereigns and their work, already described, were distinguished, it will have been seen, by events, by issues, and by a significance especially their own. Yet, amid these differences, one feature is found common to most of these earlier epochs, dynasties or particular wearers of the crown so far reviewed. Under the Plantagenets, under the Tudors, more especially under the Stuarts, the general course of the particular fortunes and vicissitudes of English sovereignty had been such as to portend the ultimate struggle for supremacy between Crown and Parliament that had always been inevitable.

The warning notes of that contest had been sounded most audibly in the war waged by Henry III. with the baronial, but, for that date, enlightened and liberal oligarchy which controlled the parliamentary organization of the fourteenth century. The issue acquired fresh definiteness and urgency under Richard II. It was not finally to be decided till the seventeenth century had nearly run out.

The Long Parliament, Naseby Field, the defeat and execution of Charles I., were but incidents in the constant encounter between the two forces. They prepared the way for decision. They were not themselves visibly decisive. With the Restoration of

Charles II., under his successor James II., royal absolutism triumphantly for a season revived. To superficial observers the great work of the Long Parliament seemed to be finally undone. After the Convention had settled the second Charles on his throne, the Houses at Westminster were dominated by a majority more exuberantly and aggressively Royalist than had ever supported Charles I.

That temper was shown specially in the treatment meted out to the men personally implicated in the death of the "Royal Martyr," to use the phrase of seventeenth century Tories. The more moderate Royalists like Fairfax, Northumberland, and above all, the chief instrument of the Restoration, Monk himself, were against any exceptions on whatever plea to the rule of clemency in dealing with those who had taken any part in bringing Charles I. to the scaffold.

So merciful a proposal the Commons would not for a moment entertain. Only after much management and with great difficulty did the moderates succeed in reducing the exceptions to seven.

It has indeed already been seen that the second Charles was not tempted by personal disposition or by political situation to entertain any deep design of subverting the liberties which were the national fruits of the Long Parliament and of the Civil War.

But under all the Stuarts, even in their more chastened moods, it would have been entirely premature to speak of the maxim, "The king reigns but does not govern," as yet established.

The chosen instruments of royal absolutism, both with the Tudors and with the Stuarts, had been proclamations from the sovereign in Privy Council overriding the law of the land. With the abolition of the

Star Chamber and the High Commission Court, these agencies of despotism disappeared. Charles II. in theory, and to some degree in practice, was restored only to that which constitutionally belonged to the king. The illegal proclamations were not absolutely discontinued, though they steadily decreased in number as in importance. Of the most noticeable of such instruments, issued during the first reign after the Restoration, that of 1665, was one ordering the withdrawal from London and Westminster of all officers and soldiers who had served in the Cromwellian Army, and their remaining outside a twenty-mile radius of the locality specified during six months. The same motive, which prompted that order, may be traced in another highly unpopular edict; this was a proclamation of 1675, for closing the coffee-houses in the capital. Coffee may perhaps have had an ill reputation with the restored monarchy, as a novelty introduced in Cromwell's time. The beverage itself had made its first English appearance, not in London, but at Oxford. In those days the rooms in Balliol College, Oxford, over the porter's lodge, looking out into Broad Street, tenanted some three centuries later by the Mr. Edward Herbert who died in the Marathon massacre, were occupied by a member of the College, a native of Crete. So popular with the friends whom Nathaniel Canopus of Balliol regaled in his chambers was this drink, as to lead an Oxford townsman—a Jew, named Jacobs—to open very nearly on the spot where now stands the Oxford Railway Station of the London & North-Western Line, the first coffee-house ever known in this country. Two years later, an English Turkey merchant (Edwards) brought home with him a Greek servant of an enterprising and in-

dustrious turn. This man, named Pasquet, started during the Commonwealth, in 1652, in George Yard, Lombard Street, the earliest coffee-house of which any record exists in London. Pasquet afterwards settled in Holland, where, with the favour of the future William III., he plied the same business at the Hague. On revisiting England after the expulsion of the Stuarts, he is said to have been received with favour by some of those about the first parliamentary king, even to have been induced to open branch establishments, one in what is now known as South Kensington and another near Hampton Court Palace. But to the social conservatism of London residents the new places of resort were not unreservedly acceptable. In particular, the studious Templars of the seventeenth century and other gentlemen or families whose business lay Fleet Street way, complained of the Rainbow Coffee-house near Temple Bar as an impediment to their business during the day and a nuisance to their slumbers at night.

The royal interdiction of coffee-houses was probably justified on political rather than social grounds. It should no doubt be taken together with the expulsion of the last remnants of the Commonwealth military from within the sound of Bow Bells. Between 1665 and 1675 there were well-grounded apprehensions of disturbance described at length by the historian who has most minutely studied this period. Obviously places of modish resort and of Cromwellian association might have been regarded as affording dangerous opportunities to conspirators and as threats to the public peace and safety. That veto was perhaps never intended severely to be enforced. It seems to have been suggested by Clarendon. It elicited a host of petitions against it from the tea

and coffee traders. It was cancelled in 1676, less, that is, than one year after its issue.

When, therefore, on the accession of the House of Orange, the early pioneer of the movement, Pasquet, was again on the Thames, he had the satisfaction of finding the cloud which for a moment overhung his enterprise finally dispersed and the coffee-houses which were introduced effecting a revolution not only in social but certainly in literary and to some extent political London.*

Other incidents of a kind more serious than those just mentioned remind one of the degree of popular coercion and restriction by which in their daily business the subjects of Charles II. were hampered. Milton's famous and magnificent *Areopagitica,* a plea for "the liberty of unlicensed printing," had as yet anticipated rather than interpreted national feeling. The fact, however, remains that in spite of all the influences of the period unfavourable to it, the social conditions of the later Stuart period were favourable to the demand for and the growth of a free press. Nor did any know better than Clarendon and his associates that their efforts to gag the printed expression of popular sentiment or conviction must before long finally fail.† Those were the

* The establishment of coffee-houses on both sides of Temple Bar was speedily followed by the periodical issue of broadsheets, specially intended for the public, which the coffee-houses had established or at least organized.

† Familiar truths are proverbially those most easily forgotten. It may not therefore be remembered that the term, loosely applied to the authors, publishers named at the beginning or to the printer's name at the end of a book, is a reminiscence of the era of official supervision; for after he had read and approved the MS., destined for type setter, imprimatur was the one word with which the licenser signified his approval of publication.

days when the House of Lords, as will hereafter be shown at greater length, claimed for themselves exemption from certain laws to which ordinary citizens were subject. The State right of domiciliary search for illegal or unconstitutional documents was especially resisted by the peers. Such claims to exceptional privileges produced constant friction between the two Chambers; these disputes in 1661 caused the defeat of a bill for further coercing printers and writers. They did not uniformly promote the object for which Milton and other champions of liberty had expended their eloquence and argument. The Press Censorship had been first established in 1655. It became more severe as time went on. Certain new restrictions were imposed. The Press Licenser, Sir Roger L'Estrange, detected treason in some lines of "Paradise Lost." * In and after 1662, this licenser's imprimatur was required to be supplemented by the sanction of the Stationers' Company, as well as, in the case of law books, by that of the Chancellor or a Chief Justice; in the case of history and politics, by that of a Secretary of State; in the case of heraldry, by that of the Kings-at-Arms; in the case of divinity, physic or philosophy, by that of the Primate or the Bishop of London; or in the case of the University Press, by that of the Chancellor of Oxford or Cambridge. The number of master printers for the United Kingdom was limited to twenty; each of these was to give security to the government and a pledge to divulge, when required, the name of an anonymous writer. Court messengers were empowered to search any suspected printer's, writer's or publisher's house for offending "copy," or for pec-

* Hallam, Vol. III., p. 6.

cant proof sheets. This particular Act expired in 1679; but the freedom of the press was by no means then established.

Nor did that liberty become an English institution till long after the last Stuart had gone, in the seventh year of William of Orange. Then what is understood by the modern Constitution of England was in full process of establishment.

The complete freedom of writing and printing, slowly but decisively won and first officially recognized under the last-named king, was the appropriate achievement of an epoch that marks the transition from the old order of monarchy, based on hereditary right, to the newer system, founded on public opinion. With Macaulay's literary monument to William before the eyes and in the hands of the whole world, there is no danger of the personal factor being forgotten in the case of the first parliamentary sovereign of England who during all his days was the life and soul of European alliances against Louis XIV. of France.

The character and the example of Queen Mary, through whom as daughter of James II. William could alone advance the shadow of a family claim to the crown, were not only essential to the strong administration of her husband, but by their transmission have exercised a perceptible influence upon the English courts since her day. William himself never overcame the unfavourable impression which his bearing and his nationality at once produced upon the popular mind. Reserved and austere by nature, he never cultivated, for he always despised, the arts by which the Tudor sovereigns as well as Charles II. commended themselves to the mass of their subjects. Very different from this was the case of William's

wife. This Queen Mary, daughter of James II. by Anne Hyde, among all women of her time noticeable for her noble countenance and dignified carriage, undoubtedly rallied round her a national feeling of personal loyalty to the throne, which her husband could never have moved, which as a fact he rather chilled and dispelled. Mary was thus more effectual than her husband's military body-guard in disarming the murderous conspirators against the prince of the new dynasty. Socially, the queen may even be said to have been the first to impress upon the English court the character which endures to this day. The idea of queenship possessed from the first, and systematically illustrated by this noble woman, bears a close relationship to that with which Victoria has familiarised her people both within and beyond the seas.

Whether at Hampton Court, at Kensington, or at Windsor, William's consort from the first, by the whole ordering of her daily life, caused all to perceive that to her, at least, the expression, "the mother of her people," was no idle phrase. Her published letters* with more detail than these pages could contain illustrate in every page that statement. With a memory equally good for the facts that govern State policy and for the homeliest details of village life, she showed, in a constant round of domestic industries, her kindly and practical concern for the humblest of those about her. George III. and his wife in their Windsor life avowedly took Queen Mary as their model. Queen Victoria, in her country life at

* Memoirs of Mary Queen of England, 1689–1693, together with her letters and those of James II. and William III., to the Electress Sophia of Hanover, edited by Dr. R. Doebner. London, David Nutt, 1886.

Osborne or at Balmoral, and her eldest son, the Prince of Wales, as a Norfolk Squire at Sandringham, not artificially or by studied purpose, but still none the less faithfully, have perpetuated this the pleasantest tradition which has descended to them from William's wife. Before coming to England Mary had been fond of the card-table and of any other amusements afforded by the Hague. Upon her arrival at St. James' Palace, flushed with the pride and pleasure of her royal position and possessions, she had shocked many even among those who were not personally attached to her father, by her boisterous exultation over her new splendours and by her apparent forgetfulness of, or indifference to, the fact that she was herself the daughter of the king whom she with her husband was replacing and who was now a fugitive and exile beyond seas. But, once firmly seated on the throne, Queen Mary showed no sympathy with the fashionable frivolity of the time. The example she set to her ladies-in-waiting, to her bed-chamber women, to her whole entourage, was one of active usefulness for the good of any they might have it in their power to benefit. Thus, rather more than two hundred years ago, was established in the court of the Revolution that tradition of social and moral responsibility which, progressively and continuously flourishing since then, has been during the Victorian era illustrated and enlarged to a degree that good Queen Mary could not have foreseen as possible.

The blameless simplicity of the town not less than the country life of George III. and his Consort, the whole atmosphere of the court of Victoria; such a course of social beneficence, equally in things small and great, as that of the Princess Mary of Cambridge, who died but recently as Duchess of Teck,

might, from the historical point of view, seem to have found their original inspiration in the court reformation which set in with William and Mary of Orange, towards the close of the seventeenth century.

In yet another respect may there be traced a new affinity to nineteenth century ideas, in the social and moral era which, as a result of the consistently liberal idiosyncrasies of the new king, set in with the revolution. "Dodwell wants me to put him in prison, but I will disappoint him." The reluctance of the clergy to swear loyalty to the deposer of James led to the formation of the sect or party of non-jurors, as came to be called those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new dynasty. Chief among these of episcopal rank were Sancroft, the primate, the bishops of Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, and Thomas Ken, who presided over the See of Bath and Wells, the writer of lines still probably said or sung daily throughout the world, where the English language is known,—the morning and evening hymn. Even more important than either of these well-known men, was another non-juror, William Law. The son of a Northamptonshire grocer, Law was born in 1686 and died in 1761. The writings of this eminent divine no doubt exercised a profound influence on the belief and doctrine of some among the most famous of nineteenth century Anglican divines, Keble, Newman, Pusey, and all concerned in the Oxford Movement. Before publishing his best-known books, Law had been not only tutor to the father of Edward Gibbon the historian, but the spiritual director of the whole Gibbon family; though it is by his *Serious Call* and by the still actively spiritualising agency which this work represents that Law may be spoken of as a nineteenth century force.

The other non-juror above spoken of, Dodwell, was Camden Professor at Oxford. As William's contemptuously tolerant remark implied, Dodwell's grievance consisted, not in having tendered to him an oath which he could not conscientiously take, but in being denied the notoriety of martyrdom which he coveted.

Yet if William of Orange owed his crown to the Whigs he did not share the traditional indifference of that party to the interests of the Anglican Church which at a later day was to make Whig Bishops a reproach to the Church. At Canterbury, at Oxford, at Salisbury, at Worcester, the non-juror prelates were replaced by men of the calibre of Tillotson as Primate, of Stillingfleet as head of the Worcester diocese, as Hough at Oxford and as Burnet at Salisbury. Best known to succeeding generations as a writer, and in his personality most familiar to us from Macaulay's entertaining portrait, Burnet in his zeal for increasing the popular usefulness of the Church and in his unceasing effort to train his clergy in pastoral usefulness, as well as in theological wisdom, may be looked back upon to-day as a prelate of the modern school of episcopal industry. His letter, vindicating William's right to the crown, so much offended the parliament as to be burned by the hangman; his exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles was denounced for its heterodoxy by the Lower House of Convocation. Burnet himself was not only foremost among the prose writers of his period; he was among the earliest of real Hebrew scholars in England. If his clergy had any complaint against him, it was that their diocesan made them do their work.

The toleration not only by the government but by educated or fashionable society of all opinions

upon every sort of subject, provided they were not offensively expressed, is the distinguishing mark of the nineteenth century. It directly descends to us from the personal temper of William of Orange in the seventeenth century. Before the reign of that king, to publish a book or article reflecting on the government of the day as a whole or upon the character, capacity or fitness of any member of the Administration, was to challenge a prosecution-at-law. Sir John Holt, a Winchester boy, an Oriel Scholar and Fellow, one of the most enlightened and impartial justices of his age, held that to possess the people with an ill opinion of the government or ministry of the day was a libel and was, as such, rightly punishable. To the personal sense of duty of William of Orange, on all such points as these, may be directly ascribed, not only the abolition of the Press Censorship in 1695, but the development of an ever-deepening public conviction that in everything concerned with writing or publication persecution is the one agency which helps the cause it attacks. The seventeenth century therefore it was which witnessed, in great measure as a result of the new king's temperament, the realisation of the liberty of unlicensed printing in the fullest sense of those words that had formed the subject of Milton's eloquent appeal against all the apparent tendencies of his day.

The era of modern liberalism may be dated from William. The spirit of English legislation begins to be consistently liberal under William III.; at the same time set in an era of economy, more severe than was to the taste of the sovereign whom parliament had crowned. James II. had received an income of nearly £2,000,000 a year. The House of Commons under James II., claimed, under William

III., exercise of the right of allocating to special purposes of particular sums voted, according to the estimates of expenditure presented by the ministers presiding over the several spending departments of the State. To William himself was allotted for his personal expenditure a revenue of about £700,000; but the traditional and ineradicable dislike of the House of Commons to a standing army expressed itself in a vote reducing the forces to some 7,000 men. That number was indeed eventually raised to 10,000. Even that provision seemed to William so miserably inadequate for the nation's need in the disturbed condition of Europe, that the first of parliamentary sovereigns transgressed the limit imposed upon him, by a flagrantly unconstitutional act, in which his eminently constitutional Whig ministers unconstitutionally but readily acquiesced. On leaving England for a visit to Holland William ordered that 16,000 men should be secretly maintained in arms. The Houses from the first had distrusted the military ideas of the king; during the next session they successfully resented William's contempt of their authority by summarily reducing the troops to 7,000. The Dutch were to be recouped the expenses of the expedition which landed the new king at Torbay. William soon associated his name with popular legislation; he secured the abolition of the hearth tax imposed by Charles II. in 1662, producing £200,000; the deficit, thus caused, was made good by additions to the excise on wine and beer. The hearth-tax was re-imposed, though subsequently again abolished. The new drink duties remained; parliament, however, could not be induced to grant the remissions beyond a period of four years. These limitations on his pecuniary means were as little acceptable to

William III. as they would have been to James II. Nor did William accept his limitations in the spirit of a constitutional king. Above all things a soldier, resolved on carrying out and leading the war against France, he held views as to the size of the standing army required for the national safety that did not harmonise with parliamentary opinion. His pique usually took the form of a threat to return to Holland and to leave an unappreciative country to take care of itself; but, on one occasion, when making a visit to the Hague, he committed a clearly unconstitutional act in leaving behind him in London sealed orders that, beyond the parliamentary provision, 16,000 men should be kept in arms. Nor, it would seem, did the king's ministers demur to the fulfilment of that autocratic order. Parliament, as already mentioned, took its revenge by insisting on a reduction to 7,000 troops; the same jealousy of Dutch soldiers was felt in England as afterwards, under the Georges, of Hanoverian troops. Of the 7,000 soldiers to whom the standing army in 1698 was limited, all were to be natives of Great Britain; the regiments of Dutch guards and French refugees, with whom the king had surrounded himself, were therefore, to his great chagrin, disbanded and sent out of the country. According to the current story contained in memoirs of the times, before consenting to that step the king walked furiously round his room, exclaiming, "If I had a son, by G—, the guards should not leave me." *À propos* of this anecdote, without accepting or denying it, Hallam drily asks, how would the wished-for son have enabled the king to keep them against the will of parliament and people? *

* Hallam, Vol. III., p. 191.

The truth would scarcely be overstepped by saying that during great part of his time the relations between the Dutch king, his English subjects, and the national parliament were those of "masked war." Some of William's Tory advisers, especially Nottingham, as an argument with the sovereign against giving his confidence to their opponents, persistently represented to the king that, encouraged by the leading Whigs, a republican faction, allied with and supported by malignant democrats beyond seas, was plotting to replace the monarchy by a kingless commonwealth.

On his arrival William found parliament, imperfectly representative of a nation; politicians still steeped in Stuart traditions of passive obedience to an absolute monarch. Hence his inability or indisposition to realise the new political order, which his accession had in effect produced, but in which he was not more ready unconditionally to acquiesce than if he had not been himself the life, soul and centre of these great national transactions. The fact, however, remains that what is now recognized as the modern epoch set in with the political and financial innovations, which, begun or accomplished under William, marked a fresh step towards the really popular government that was to become a fact within the next two centuries. With William's personality the England of to-day is connected not merely by the force of general associations, but by the rise of its specific institutions. Between 1690 and 1697 was definitely established the system, under which at St. Stephen's and in Downing Street the British Empire is administered to-day. Party government has only reached the developments with which we are now familiar after many fluctuations, vicissitudes and

retrogressions. That policy was impossible until the words, "The king reigns, but does not govern," had passed from a phrase into a reality, till, that is, the choice of ministers was made, not in the palace, but in the constituencies. Nevertheless in the seven years just mentioned had been completed the political preliminaries for vesting the executive in the majority of members sent back to Westminster by the national electorate. Neither William of Orange, of course, nor any of his near successors ever formally surrendered the right to choose the ministers of the crown. That prerogative, though it still legally exists, has, in its exercise, been virtually taken from them by the pressure of events. William's plan of mixed administrations had miscarried for other reasons than the failure of Whigs and Tories amicably to co-operate in the same cabinet. If that experiment had appeared to be practicable during any long time, or had been persisted in, the first and most disastrous results of the failure would have been seen in the anarchy and impotence of the House of Commons. For the modern parliamentary system, the imperative necessity of responsible parliamentary leaders in the Lower House, strong in the possession of the trustworthy majority, first clearly showed itself during the first decade that William and Mary were on the throne. Without the guidance of statesmen so situated as these, the House of Commons must have remained an undisciplined mob worse than useless for discussing, still less for controlling, the national affairs. Sunderland, unprincipled it may be, but the most acute and far-seeing statesman of his generation, not only perceived the evil; he divined and suggested the remedy. That politician had basely betrayed to the king the secrets of his

master Marlborough; he narrowly escaped the punishment of being entirely dismissed from court. But for that fortunate accident, the country might have had to wait another generation for the establishment of parliamentary order and efficiency. William, in 1693, at once recognized the shrewd sense of this counsellor's suggestion for the formation of an entirely Whig ministry. The legislation following this memorable step was the best proof of its opportuneness. Montague, long a member of the Treasury Board, now became Chancellor of the Exchequer. The expenses of the war now in progress suggested to this able man that system of finance which, though it did not originate with William, is stamped by his personal encouragement. This scheme was indeed rooted in the royal practices of the earliest age. Edward IV. had not been the earliest or the only king to borrow from his commercial subjects money for the expenses of the royal policy. In 1693, William's military policy confronted his financial advisers with a deficit of at least a million. Heavier taxation must have provoked outbursts of dangerous discontent. Montague now conceived the idea of a loan raised, not on the security of the king, as under the Plantagenet sovereigns, but on the security of the nation. The proposal was warmly taken up on all sides; incidentally it proved a fresh security against the Stuart restoration, for with James again on the throne, responsibility for the debt would have been immediately repudiated. The next year the Bank of England was established; the modern method of banking was introduced.

Hitherto traders who did not keep their cash in strong boxes on their own premises placed it in the custody of goldsmiths; these invested the money,

thus given to their keeping, on the understanding that their customers might draw bills upon them equal in value to the amounts deposited. The goldsmiths' shops were so many private banks.

Banks, however, of the modern sort had from very early times been known in Italy, whence originally came the idea of these institutions. The Bank of St. George at Genoa was the growth of the fourteenth century. That of Amsterdam was founded during the first decade of the seventeenth century. The Bank of England owed its origin to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Montague, and to two practical financiers—both London merchants—Michael Godfrey and William Paterson.

In all, forty merchants formed the nucleus of the operations and of the individuals out of which the Bank of England grew. The exact process may be briefly described.* A sum of £1,200,000 wanted by the government was to be found by forty London merchants at 8 per cent. interest. These subscribers to the State loan were by Act of Parliament incorporated as a bank, April 1694. Of the bank which thus and then came into existence, Sir John Houblon was the first governor, and Michael Godfrey, already mentioned as a chief promoter of the scheme, the first Deputy-Governor. The charter making these appointments was, after violent resistance on the part of the Tories, carried and was formally granted in the July following the royal assent to the general principle of the institution. The bank was in full working order by the beginning of the next year,

* A detailed and luminous account of the financial and political incidents leading to the formation of the Bank of England will be found, Hallam, Vol. III., p. 183, and is shortly summarised in the text.

1695; * its operations were not limited to the immediate State loan, in which the whole project originated; the bank was also enabled to issue notes and to discount bills for 4½ to 6 per cent.

William's personal interest in and support of the new institution were the more readily forthcoming because he had witnessed banks working after a like system in his native Holland, as well as elsewhere. Venice, Geneva, Genoa and Barcelona were in point of time the pioneers of the new commercial enterprise. But during the first half of the seventeenth century, whose later years witnessed the great financial experiment just described, Amsterdam and Rotterdam in Holland, as well as several other great towns on the Continent, had improved their trading position by establishments such as that which in England grew out of the financial skill and foresight of Halifax and was promoted by the practical co-operation of those forty merchants, among whom Paterson and Godfrey are the best known. The same satisfactory results that had followed the foundation of modern banking in Holland waited upon the same development in England; in doing so it led to the close alliance between London City, as the commercial headquarters of the Empire, and the Whigs. The latter connection subsisted during the greater part of the eighteenth and through much of the nineteenth century—till indeed the gradual disruption of liberalism transferred from the party of progress to

* At Grocers' Hall, Poultry, the foundation of the present building in Threadneedle Street was laid by the then Governor, Bellamy, in 1732. Since then the place has been constantly altered and enlarged, till to-day the premises fill the whole site of the church and most of the parish, St. Christopher-le-Stocks, on whose ground the bank was erected, while what was the churchyard is now the bank garden.

the traditional, though inaccurately reputed, opponents of change, the confidence and support of the commercial and financial interest of the country. The business success of the Bank of England was speedy and decisive. Trade of all kinds received a visible and immediate stimulus. The mercantile classes therefore ranged themselves on the side of the Whig government of the Whig king. Even the original opponents of the scheme were to some extent reassured or disarmed by the clause forbidding the bank to advance sums to the government without a special Act of Parliament.

The object of the abortive land bank, in 1698, was to induce the country gentlemen to support the ministry, in the same substantial way as had been done by the merchants. But the squires did not respond to the call. Cash was a pressing need for the troops in Flanders; a most serious national crisis was only avoided by the Bank of England advancing the sum at a few days' notice. Meanwhile a monetary reform of extreme importance to the poorer classes was being proceeded with. Nearly two hundred years back, under Elizabeth, the coinage had been renewed; since then it had become practically debased; the habit of clipping coins and the wear and tear of use disastrously disorganized the medium of exchange; the uncertainty of the value of the currency threatened to bring trade to a standstill, for when the nominal price of an article had been agreed upon between the seller and buyer, there was fresh haggling over the coin in which the price was to be paid. Sir Isaac Newton had been appointed Master of the Mint on the nomination of Montague. To that great thinker, therefore, was entrusted the responsibility for renewing the coinage. With Newton were asso-

ciated in the business two other men of trained and scientific intellect, scarcely inferior in calibre to his own. These were John Somers, who had first achieved fame at the Trial of the Seven Bishops, prosecuted by James II., the first constitutional lawyer of his day; and John Locke, the intellectual vindicator of the policy represented by the 1688 Revolution, whose tract on "Toleration" was not less useful to the nation at large than was his essay on "Human Understanding" to all students of mental philosophy or to all who had acquired the habit of correct reasoning. He had been, at the time of the Restoration of Charles II., a senior student and college tutor of Christ Church, whither he passed from Westminster School; thereafter he studied medicine; he even seems for a short time to have practised as a physician; later he entered the service of the State. On the enthronement of William III. he returned to England from a period of exile in Holland. He was at one time actually Secretary of the Board of Trade. The year after the Revolution he refused the English ambassadorship at Brandenburg, placing himself at the disposal of the State at home. With such colleagues was associated, as President of the Coinage Commission, the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, Montague, who, as author of the "Town and Country Mouse," had made his mark as a writer long before he achieved parliamentary fame, developing into the boldest financier and the shrewdest debater of his day.

From the point of view, from which it is here regarded,—its relationship to nineteenth century developments,—the reign of William III. would be remarkable for the precedent, then established, and

since then so often followed, of showing that there is no divorce between the philosophical intellect and practical statesmanship. Thus at a later day, in our own time, the two Mills, James and John Stuart, served the State, like Locke, none the less effectively because they had written books. The result of this commission was a decision by parliament which provided that the loss involved in the rehabilitation of the coinage should fall, not as it had threatened to do, on the poorer classes, but on the nation at large. On and after a certain day the use of the old coinage was forbidden; all who brought in money before that date received its nominal value in new milled coins. So excellent a Master of the Mint did Newton prove, that eight times as many shillings per week were turned out as had ever been struck before. Despite all despatch the time required for the transactions was considerable; during the four months for which they lasted, all classes lived on credit. But the people had confidence in the government. Debtor and creditor vied with each other in good-humoured patience; no serious inconvenience was felt during the introduction of the new epoch in English commerce, following upon the establishment of the National Debt, of the Bank of England and the renewal of the medium of exchange.

Two other episodes of William's statesmanship, both equally in accord with or anticipatory of the nineteenth century spirit, remain to be noticed. By an act of Edward III. the king was under the obligation to convene a new parliament every year. With the common consent of ruler and ruled, that usage had been allowed often to drop into desuetude. An act for a new parliament every three years was actually passed by the Long Parliament, though it

was repealed shortly after the Restoration. The Bill of Rights contained a clause that parliaments ought to be held frequently. Now, however, the voting of supplies and the renewal of the Mutiny Act became annual events. There was thus no fear lest the Houses should not be in session once during every twelve months. Rather was it apprehended that an exacting sovereign who at last obtained a compliant House of Commons might refuse to dissolve it, and that thus the Chamber at Westminster would be out of sympathy with the country. Something of this sort had actually happened under Charles II., when the House was not dissolved during seventeen years. To prevent the recurrence of such an abuse, William was no sooner established, than in 1692, in the Triennial Bill, the Whigs passed through both Houses a measure enacting three years as the longest period ever to elapse without a dissolution. William, notwithstanding the reassuring words of Sir William Temple and Jonathan Swift on the subject, resented the statute, as an attack on his prerogative, and arrested it by his veto. In 1693 the proposal, reintroduced, was lost in the division on the third reading in the House of Commons. Next year the royal opposition was withdrawn and the Bill passed. Some time before the full time was up, the king decided to dissolve. The government went to the country on the strength of William's victorious return from the greatest foreign military exploit of his reign, the successful siege of Namur in the Low Countries.

Not less important than the change of dynasty itself were the new conditions, partly suggested by William for the expression and organization of public opinion. As has already been said, with a parliamentary king on the throne, thought, speech and

writing became free. The abolition of the last traces of the censorship gave the country a free press.

"Virtue herself will be benefited and strengthened by meeting her antagonists in a free and open encounter." Such in his *Areopagitica* was Milton's prediction of the advantages that would follow from the liberty for which he pleaded eloquently, but which only those who lived into a later reign were to see actually bestowed. Among the news sheets to which the new dispensation at once gave life was *The Intelligence, Domestic and Foreign.* That journal, prematurely born, during the discussions on the Exclusion Bill under Charles II., had been on its earlier appearance immediately suppressed. It was now renewed under brighter auspices. The *Orange Intelligencer* and the *Orange Gazette* were among the other products of the abolition of the Press Censorship. These ministerial prints provoked criticisms and replies from the adherents of the Stuart cause and the enemies of the new *régime.* But with the day of *press coercion,* that of press intemperance seemed also in great measure to have come to an end. As Milton had predicted and as William himself foresaw might be expected, the free press was marked not by fresh vehemence and rancour on the part of their writers, but by a decency and a moderation that were entirely new. The era of calm criticism succeeded that of scurrilous abuse. Ministerial policy at home and abroad was attacked sharply in Opposition sheets. According to the construction then current of the law of libel, any words likely to bring into contempt the government of the day might be considered actionable. As a fact, during the reign of William III. no fresh prosecution took place.

In the law courts as well as in the newspaper offices had now begun an era favourable to civil and political liberty. The assassination plots against the king himself, or against his ministers, were especially objectionable; but Jacobite conspiracies might have been expected to cause severity in the procedure against grave political crimes. William let no attempts on his life sting him to vindictive legislation. During previous reigns, the conditions under which trials for treason were conducted had told entirely in favour of the government and very heavily against the accused. Till the case actually began the prisoner was informed neither of the names of the jury nor of the details of the charge, on which he was to be arraigned; witnesses for the defence were forbidden to be examined on oath. All the arrangements in fact were made upon the assumption of its being a State duty not to allow alleged traitors an opportunity of clearing themselves, but to secure their conviction of the crime charged against them; nor was there anything that had brought the action of government and the administration of justice into such distrust and hatred as law court politics during the later years of Charles II., and during all the years of his successor. Some proof of the opinion as to the iniquity of these trials entertained impartially among all parties and factions of the State may be seen in the fact that the Convention Parliament, without any dissentient voice, reversed the attainders of Russell, Sidney, Cornish and Armstrong.* A free and purified press was now organizing and expressing, to some extent even creating, a healthy public opinion. That opinion unmistakably declared itself in a demand for a reform in the treatment of political prisoners.

* Hallam, Vol. III., p. 217.

Before the new dynasty had been ten years in existence, the method of dealing with political crimes was entirely changed. Hitherto, as already said, the prisoner was compelled to prepare his defence in the dark. By the Act of William, he was to have a copy of the indictment as well as the list of jury, five days before the trial (a period subsequently extended to ten days), and his witnesses were to be examined on oath. The existing statute of Edward VI., under which two witnesses were necessary for conviction, had been so evaded or narrowed by crown lawyers, that Algernon Sidney's condemnation was secured, nominally on the evidence of one witness, but chiefly on that of the unpublished papers found in his desk. It was accordingly provided that the two witnesses required by a statute of Edward VI. in cases of treason should testify either both to the same overt act, or the first to one and the second to another overt act of the same kind of treason.

The jealousy prevailing amongst all classes against the Dutchmen, civil or military, with whom William surrounded himself recalls the earlier English prejudice against the French and other aliens whom the Plantagenets invited to their court and promoted to high office and great wealth; it presages the dislike and distrust, hereafter shown by their British subjects to the Hanoverian troops, that, to the disgust of their parliaments, the early Georges insisted in keeping about their persons. English newspapers, the progenitors of our modern press, have been described above as a characteristic product of the Revolution of 1688. They were that. They were also something more. The first great English journalist, and perhaps still the greatest, lived through the reign of William into that of Anne. One of the

newspapers which he founded, the *Edinburgh Courant,* though it had long since changed its earlier and popular politics, having survived many vicissitudes, was in existence till quite recently. The vigorous versatility of Daniel Defoe was without a rival during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Prose, occasional verse, *feuilleton,* social essay, political leader, pamphlet and novel—in each of these Defoe was not only a master; he was the founder of a school. The best known of all his works (if the remark was not made by himself) has been declared by later commentators to be an allegory of his own adventures, not beyond seas, but in his native England. Now standing on the pillory, now locked up in prison for debt or political offence; always separate from the crowd, shunned by all, or by choice solitary, with no counsellor but his own shrewd wit and hard head, the real Robinson Crusoe was none other than the inexhaustible and never wearied writer, who first made the periodical press coextensive with, and inclusive of, every department of human thought, activity and enterprise. His eighty distinct works, with their 4,727 pages of closely printed letterpress, contain the germs or inspiration of every department of writing, which most flourished after the founder himself had passed away. Even in this Victorian age his satire of the true-born Englishman gave Lord Beaconsfield, when Benjamin Disraeli, some points for one of the most successful speeches he ever made on the popular platform,—that controverting the patriotic fallacy of England's being an historically unconquered country, inhabited by a nation indebted for its civilisation to no foreign source. Defoe's way of putting it was that "the English who derided the Dutch and foreigners so

much were themselves descended from swarm after swarm of conquerors and refugees." Their much-vaunted motto, "The true-born Englishman," was "but a metaphor invented to express a man akin to all the universe." His pamphlet, *Giving Alms no Charity,* read to-day by the light of modern experience, is found to be a protest against eleemosynary pauperising of the masses, and especially against the national workshops, the common-place panacea of revolutionary periods. The elemental force in the literature of his century, which Defoe proved himself to be, is shown by the fact of his *Scandal Club* being the forerunner of *The Tattlers, Spectators* and *Ramblers* of the Addisonian and Johnsonian era, as well as, one might add, the society journals of Victorian days. But the extraordinary distance to which was projected the literary influence of Defoe, not less than his unique anticipation of later modes of composition, will be best suggested by the fact that his great political satire, *The Consolidator,* supplied Jonathan Swift with more hints than one for *Gulliver's Travels.*

Last among the legacies to English sovereignty bequeathed by the reign of the first parliamentary king, may, for the sake of completeness, but as briefly as possible, be mentioned the Act of Settlement. By that statute, in the event of Queen Mary, King William and the Princess Anne all dying without children, the crown was settled on Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover, a daughter of Elizabeth, the Electress-Palatine, and the granddaughter of James I. That was a Tory measure. Its authors accompanied it with certain provisions restricting the royal prerogative and expressing their invincible dislike of William. Thus this sovereign was not to

leave Great Britain or Ireland without the consent of parliament. No foreigner could belong to the Privy Council, be a member of either House of Parliament, hold any office under the crown, or receive any grant of lands; no person holding office under the crown or in receipt of a pension could be a member of the House of Commons. Of these enactments some, those restricting royal movements, were repealed for convenience of George I.; the disqualification for the House of Commons of the occupants of salaried offices under the crown, would of course have made unworkable the whole system of English parliamentary government. That particular provision therefore was repealed in 1705. In its place was enacted the condition, now in force, that parliament men receiving ministerial offices of profit should vacate their seats but should be eligible for re-election.

Queen Anne, who came to the throne on William's death in 1702, without anything of her predecessor's intellectual ability and capacity for rule, was destined to have a more enduring influence on the development of English sovereignty than was exercised by William. The personal agency of a queen, intellectually, as physically, of a feeble cast, rendered to the crown as an institution a service which neither William with all his statesmanship nor his wife Mary with all her womanly attractiveness was able to perform. The fact that none of the plots against the Dutch king succeeded; that the movements either to restore James to the monarchy or to replace the monarchy by a republic never grew to a pressingly dangerous point, may have resulted from that alliance in marriage with Mary, which exercised a counteracting influence to his own personal

unpopularity. If Queen Mary II.'s methods of winning popularity with the masses successfully anticipated those practised by later princesses, English feeling had been revolted and shocked by the personal indifference, on her arrival in England, to her exiled father's sufferings.

The purity and simplicity of the Orange-Stuart court life could not efface from the popular mind the painful impression produced by the circumstantial stories of the heartlessness which the daughter of James made no effort to repress, when, on her arrival in London, she established herself as queen and mistress in those very rooms that her father had but just quitted, complacently surveying her new State robes, reflected in those mirrors before which, as it were but yesterday, the king had donned the clothes he wore on his flight beyond sea. Burnet may have been right in discovering in her a great tenderness for her father. To other onlookers her actions, her extraordinary high spirits, most successfully cloaked that filial sentiment. Soon transpired a story, supported by many proofs, of a project of capturing the dethroned king, of landing him on some strange spot with £20,000 in his pocket, to make his way in the world. If in some of these narratives there be exaggeration, the general temper of the queen in these matters may be gathered from the unadorned entry in the official record of the period. The *London Gazette* of July, 1690, published under Mary's regency, speaking of the actual war in Ireland being waged between William and James, mentions that the cannons of her husband, pointed against the tents of her father, had laid low many of those near to James II. It was, of course, a difficult position for any woman to fill. It was prob-

ably well for herself, her husband, perhaps the country, that a vein of coarseness traversed the moral fibre of William's consort. Otherwise Mary might have broken down entirely. Nor could her husband, on his frequent absences abroad, have confided with such absolute confidence and ease his interest in the kingdom and the throne to the loyalty of the wife to whom he owed both. The most charitable as well as the most probable interpretation of Mary's conduct is, that the conflict and agony of feeling excited in her during the enterprise of her husband against her father, had left her in a more or less hysterical state. The disturbing and enfeebling results of the sense of mutually antagonistic duties, of which her mind was the battle-ground, had shaken her mental balance; in disturbing her judgment they had for a time impaired her sense of humour as well. Thus it was that during her husband's campaigns abroad, a lady whose chief amusement at the Hague on Sunday nights had been the card table, was overcome with horror if her devotional meditations were disturbed by any secular interruption, or if, from her solitary prayers for the safety of her lord, she were called away to any of her duties as a queen.

The religious party which had helped forward the Revolution was also that which chiefly insisted on the sanctity of Sunday. As queen-regent, Mary placed herself in the hands of Anglican or Nonjuring Sabbatarians. She called upon her council to assist her in framing regulations for the better observance of the first day of the week. As a consequence, all hackney carriages and horses were forbidden to work after midnight on Saturday. Her Sabbatarian legislation went indeed beyond this. Then as now the working classes depended on the

bakers' ovens for the cooking of their Sunday dinners. Constables were stationed by the queen at the corners of the streets with orders to capture and confiscate all puddings, pies and joints on their progress to and fro between the labourer's cottage and the baker's oven. Her letters to her husband show her all this while to have been distracted with anxiety for his welfare. Whether or not she found relief in doing so, the fact remains, that she varied her passionate prayers for the king's safe return, or her good works in making the very name of Sunday hateful to the masses, by consigning to temporary imprisonment in the Tower or elsewhere those of her paternal relatives whom she suspected of being ill-affected to her conjugal happiness. All this time it must be remembered the sincerely devoted wife was tolerating in her husband irregularities against which finer feminine natures would have decisively rebelled. Elizabeth Villiers had been the mistress of the Prince of Orange at the Hague in his earlier days. On his marriage, this lady combined that position with a place in the suite of the Queen. Nor did the *liaison* cease when William had been installed in the place of his father-in-law in Whitehall.

It is thus intelligible that the work which it had long been evident the new queen would have to perform must be of a serious and a critical kind. The service rendered by Anne during the twelve years of her reign [1702–1714] was nothing less than the personal rehabilitation, involving the restoration, of the personal popularity of the English sovereign. The parallel between the earlier days of the future Queen Elizabeth in her Hatfield seclusion, before she came to the throne, and her education by her mother, the Duchess of Kent, in private life, of the

Princess Victoria, has been already noticed. In both these experiences there was not a little in common with the discipline through which, during several years, the Princess Anne was passing before her full acknowledgment as heiress to William III., or rather to her sister Mary. Born in 1665, Anne, at the age of eighteen, had married Prince George of Denmark. That union had been followed by entire domestic happiness on both sides as well as by a mutual confidence arising from blamelessness of life. From the year 1692 the future queen had lived like a private person in Berkeley House—a tender wife called upon to pardon or overlook no marital failings, and setting to her future subjects the example of a model mother, as well as of a pattern mistress of a virtuous household. Her only child, a son, was at the Revolution declared heir presumptive to the throne after Mary II., William III., and herself. When her son's health promised improvement from a change of residence, at the end of 1694 the princess settled with him at Camden House, just outside the back gate of Kensington Palace. During Queen Mary's severe illness from smallpox in this year, to avoid infection, Anne and her boy returned to Berkeley House. Here after the death of Mary had opened the way to the throne, as under like circumstances had been the case with Elizabeth at Hatfield, Anne was waited upon by hosts of courtiers. Her own health was far from good. To that she gave no thought, but wholly devoted herself to precautions in the interest of her husband and son against the terrible disease of smallpox. There was something else which profoundly touched the popular mind in the unselfish courage of this excellent woman. The icily impassive William III. had been

so overcome with grief at the death of his queen as to have been carried fainting from the room where she lay; since then, not leaving the house, even for the funeral, he had shut himself up in Kensington palace. During many years the king had not been on speaking terms with his sister-in-law. The strongest influences then existing in Anne's household, those of the imperious Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, were exerted to prevent the possibility of a reconciliation between William and his successor. On this subject Anne was not to be overruled by the strong-minded friend of her own sex, to whom, in all other matters, she yielded; she had formed a decision, not to be shaken by the repelling silence of the grief-dazed William, or by the difficulties which the intriguing obstinacy of the duchess devised.* The princess Anne, acting, as is thought, by the advice of Lord Sunderland, wrote a letter of condolence to her afflicted brother-in-law. The letter was couched in formal phrases, and contained some reference to personal differences between the writer and her sister. It was, however, probably as cordial as State etiquette would allow; the very fact of its having been penned is a proof perhaps of the sincerity of the signature, "Your Majesty's affectionate sister and servant." The sequel to this letter was a meeting between the actual king and the princess who, after William, was to wear the crown. The two mingled their tears and mutual condolences, the princess over the death of a wife, the king over the loss sustained by the lady of her son Prince George;

* The words of Sarah of Marlborough on this subject still remain in writing to the following effect: I thought the Princess (Anne) did a great deal too much and has often made me very uneasy.

but the episode was not followed by any closer family intercourse between the two.

The accident of his horse on February 20, 1702, making a false step by putting a foot on a mole-hill, doomed William to death. A system already broken by disease and anxiety survived the shock less than three weeks. His recovery was from the first seen to be hopeless. On March 8, surrounded by the faithful friends who had followed him from Holland, but to the last unappreciated, misunderstood by and profoundly unpopular among the people whom he had rescued from anarchy and ruin, passed away the most powerful personality among seventeenth century sovereigns. Only the support given to William III. by the nobility, including as that did many Tories as well as Whigs, made the Revolution of 1688 possible. The last act of the king was to promote two measures which were his personal work. One of these was a union with Scotland, which during many years he had strongly supported. The other was to appoint the commission which gave the royal assent to the Abjuration Act, rejected already as it once had been (1619) in both Houses, but still destined finally to bar the English throne against the House of Stuart. Yet that step did not at once destroy all visible chance for the Pretenders sprung from James II. It was an Anglican,—Bishop Atterbury,—who, on the death of Anne, urged Bolingbroke to restore the old dynasty and to proclaim the Pretender at Charing Cross, where the bishop himself declared he would head the procession in his lawn sleeves. Here again the purely personal factor in the princes of the deposed house came to the rescue of the country and the kingdom. Had the Stuarts who were then living renounced the Roman religion,

few things, not having actually happened, can be more certain than that the Pretender would have ascended the throne which his father and grandfather had forfeited.

During some years to come, new sovereigns appear, and in their turn disappear, but the era comprehending these changes has, in its character, nothing new. The Act of Settlement, whose details are explained above, due as it was to the personal support of William III., and to the politicians who in both Houses had his confidence, crowned and completed the series of English constitutional laws. Without it the Revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights would have been imperfect. Once it was inscribed on the Statute Book, there was no need of further legislation to restrain the power of the crown or to vindicate the rights and privileges of parliament or of the whole body of English subjects. Time alone was necessary to complete the changes, social or political, in the national system which had originated, if not in the mind of the reigning sovereign, in that of his chosen counsellors.

Under William III., the shrewd, prescient and resourceful intellect of Sunderland had laid the foundations of party, which is but another way of saying parliamentary government. Under Anne, that form of polity was destined year by year increasingly to acquire a national character. Had Anne possessed the strong personal character of William, the change might have been accomplished with more difficulty; a sovereign, in fact, of the type of him who died in 1702 could scarcely have failed to impede the political development of his realm and to place difficulties in the way of the transition from royal to ministerial rule. That process began with the House of

Orange. It was to be completed under the House of Hanover; that dynasty came in with the eighteenth century, and under it was practically decided the kingly and political character of the succeeding epoch. To that a new chapter will properly be devoted.

CHAPTER VII.

TRANSITION FROM PERSONAL TO PARLIAMENTARY SOVEREIGNTY.

"FATE has been too much for me." Queen Anne died, as at last it seemed, though she had long been ill, unexpectedly in 1714. The hopes of the Legitimists justly ran high. The country had wearied of sovereigns imported from abroad. Not indeed enthusiastically, but contentedly, the people would have accepted a monarch of an old national stock. Bishop Atterbury urged Bolingbroke to proclaim at Charing Cross the son of James II., in later years known as the Old Pretender. But the Whig organization had already ensured the accession of the House of Hanover. The adherents of the Stuart cause bowed to inevitable destiny. In some such words as those just quoted Bolingbroke acquiesced in that from which there was no escape.

Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts, never laid pretensions to the possession of great qualities; but her personal influence on the fortunes and functions of English sovereignty cannot easily be overrated. Free, as we have already seen, from the Dutch sympathies of William III., the French papistical affinities of the Stuart Pretender, "she prided herself on being thoroughly English." She actually succeeded in restoring the popularity of the monarchy. Such an enterprise might have daunted a bolder spirit and greater qualities than those which this

queen possessed. The Stuarts had gambled away the popular loyalty to the sovereign. A movement the reverse of national, being as it was the work of a few aristocratic Whigs, had replaced James II. by a sovereign, William III., who contemptuously disdained to show any of those qualities or practise any of those graces by which princes win the favour of their people. Queen Anne, however, did much more than revive a sentiment: she consolidated an institution. In some of her not strictly unconstitutional acts she expressed the nation's deepest convictions.

To her more than to any other sovereign since the Reformation Settlement, the Church of England is indebted for its position, influence and much of its prosperity to-day. Therefore the questionable legality of her appointment of at least one bishop without consulting her ministry was more than pardoned; it was vociferously applauded. "We hope Your Majesty is for Doctor Sacheverell and High Church; we are all High Churchmen here." So in the enthusiasm of the reaction against all forms of evangelicalism, excited by the unwise impeachment of an obscure divine for a sermon as harmless as it seems to have been dull, shouted the mob, through which the queen drove in her coach to Palace Yard. The ecclesiastical fervour may not have been strictly rational or even perfectly intelligible to those whom the emotion inspired; but of its depth and durability there can be no doubt. Anne won for herself the traditional epithet of "good," because she consistently identified herself with the Church and her people, and especially with that Church's more orthodox or higher leaders. The queen thus gained a religious bias in the politics of her period.

In this matter Jonathan Swift may be cited as a type of his time. His devotion to the establishment, in which personally he must be counted a professional failure, was one of the most genuine things about this great, bitter and unhappy genius. With persons in no way comparable to Swift, or filling a social position entirely unlike his, the same thing held true. The Whigs were first detested, then driven from office, because they had taken the lead in expelling the Non-jurors from their benefices or other appointments, had promoted the lowering of the religious life of the people, were charged with dishonouring the sacraments and all the other channels of divine grace provided by the Church for the people. Thus it came to pass that, at the period now reached, the most representative of Englishmen were Churchmen first and politicians afterwards. That explains not only the position of an intellectual prodigy like the Dean of St. Patrick's, but of another ecclesiastic with far more alloy of the commonplace about him, the already mentioned Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.

Anne came to the throne at the exact time when her spiritual sympathies had the opportunity of operating as a national force. The long Anglican battle with Puritanism was over. The dread of popish machinations under an Anglican guise had passed away. Above all Anne, though often dull of mind, could intellectually realise the literary and spiritual wealth, the eloquence and the erudition, constituting the higher heritage upon which the national Church had now entered, and which the example of the sovereign was teaching her subjects to appreciate. Nothing had done more than Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* to propagate Jacobit-

ism among the upper or the higher middle classes, after William III. was seated in the place of the second James. Some little time indeed had passed since its first publication before the political principles or social moral of that great work had permeated the reading class, or through the readers had influenced even the unlettered community. The author had put the finishing strokes to his manuscript in 1674. The eighteenth century had advanced some little way before the thick octavos, titularly chronicling a Civil War, were perceived to be operating through the land as a political and royalist pamphlet. Something of the same sort had happened in the case of the Reformed Church and the most famous exponents of its principles. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* had been published first in 1594. The day of Queen Anne had almost come before even intellectual readers had familiarised themselves with the central conceptions of the author. Other minds of a different order had also since then found utterance on the same or on kindred subjects in prose or verse. Lancelot Andrewes, Robert South, and Bishop Ken were among those who, in the pulpit or by their pen, conferred a fresh distinction, now beginning to be estimated at its true value, upon the Church. George Herbert, Donne and Crashaw, in the wide and growing acceptance which their poems received, may be almost said to have had a foretaste of the popularity thereafter to be enjoyed by Keble's Christian Year. If each of these men to some extent created the taste for what they wrote, the national admiration for their genius, grace, subtlety, knowledge and original power was assuredly quickened by the individual preferences, never kept to herself, of Queen Anne.

Nor was it only a zeal for improving the external machinery or ceremonial of the national religion that marked the closing days of the seventeenth and the opening days of the eighteenth century. Throughout the land was noticed a genuine quickening of the religious life. Devotional guilds of young men employed in business, after the nineteenth century pattern, were extensively formed. Before Anne, Queen Mary, by her personal interest in them, had done much to encourage these organizations. As a consequence of such agencies, chiefly royal, daily services began to be held in the London churches: there were frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion, with carefully organized means of preparing the poor, the sick and the ignorant for its reception. Eight years after the accession of Anne, forty-two of these private religious societies existed in London and Westminster alone.* During the first years of Anne, some of the great religious bodies of the nation still in existence, and established before Anne's time, first entered upon their prosperity. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had been in existence since 1698, when Dr. Bray first collected in his room some half-dozen friends who had the same spiritual interest as himself equally at heart. According to Sterne, in *Tristram Shandy,* "the army swore terribly in Flanders." If its oaths were not entirely reformed away, its moral tone was demonstrably improved by the good little books which in some degree, on the personal initiative of Anne, were circulated among the troops on foreign service, by the Christian Knowledge Society.

About the same time, on the eve of the queen's

* Wakeman's *History of the Church of England,* p. 419.

accession, the founders of the Christian Knowledge Society also instituted the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. To the Queen Anne period, therefore, must be referred the earliest efforts to organize the Church in the Colonies. Only the sovereign's death in 1714 prevented Church extension to the American plantations. Nor was it till after Queen Anne's death and during the Georgian era, that the national usefulness of the English Church was impaired by political faction or its spiritual energy paralysed by party strife.

If, therefore, Queen Anne be called, as she has been, politically a nonentity, the words only mean that, unlike William III., she did not seek to influence the action of her statesmen at home or of her generals and diplomatists abroad.

For the gradual development of the English constitution, for the completed passage of the country from personal to parliamentary rule, it was well that the absence in Anne of a strong personality like to that of William III. was scarcely less marked in her immediate successors than in herself. In no other way could the modern system of party government and ministerial responsibility have struck its roots deeply into the national soil. Politically, indeed, the reign of Anne was not so much a monarchical era as an oligarchic interval. Disraeli's earlier political novels abound in scoffs at a system of government which it was the fashion for the Young England School to regard as a kind of Venetian system;—a sort of council of ten, presided over by some omnipotent Whig as Doge.

Such, however, after the deaths of William and Mary, throughout the days of Anne, and well into those of the first George, the polity of this country

literally was. Upon the deaths of the Orange sovereigns, the royal power passed into commission and vested itself in a body of nine regents. Since the Tudor period, political authority had been divorced from hierarchical status. Now, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Archbishop of Canterbury was one of the regents, who in fact, if not in name, divided the power of the monarchy with Anne. The queen's devotion to the National Church led her to take the primate for her political as well as spiritual director;* for Anne from the first had displayed the national spirit on which, as compared with other sovereigns, she prided herself, not only in her preference for the Tories, who during several years after the Peace of Ryswick † were (or styled themselves) the national party, but by her practical devotion to the welfare of the English Church. The

* The popular opinion on this arrangement, periodically in force as it had been during the time of William III., or rather during the occasional regencies of his wife, may be gathered from the rhymes of the period, of which the following is a fair specimen:

THE NINE KINGS.

"Will's wafted to Holland on some State intrigue,
Desirous to visit his Hogans at Hague;
But lest in his absence his subjects repine,
He cantoned his Kingdoms and left them to Nine—
Eight ignorant peers and a blockish divine."

—Harleian MS., quoted by Miss Strickland, *Queens of England*, Vol. XI., p. 360.

† This Treaty, concluded between England, France, Spain, Holland and the Emperor of Germany, was signed by their representatives, October 30, 1697. As Mr. Lecky, Vol. I., p. 24, has circumstantially shown, this Treaty was followed by a strong feeling in England in favour of a Peace and Non-intervention Policy, a sentiment that to William III.'s disgust expressed itself in the reduction of the army, first to 10,000, after to 7,000 men, and of sailors from 40,000 to 8,000.

annual grant of what has since been and still is known as Queen Anne's Bounty consisted of the first-fruits with the tenths of benefices which had from the time of the Reformation formed part of the revenue of the crown. These were by Anne given up to commissioners to form a fund for the purpose of increasing the incomes of the poorer clergy. This was in 1704, at which time there were in the Church no less than 5,597 clerical livings with incomes of less than £50 a year. That measure has been supplemented even during the Victorian era by many amending or consolidating acts.

Nor had the personal partiality of Anne been confined to her support for the Tories. Richard Steele, the literary associate of Addison, had offended the Tories by a pamphlet called *The Crisis,* on the question of the succession. The Tories retaliated, with the approval as was thought of the court party, by expelling the pamphleteer from the House of Commons; but the great measure by which, under Anne, Bolingbroke tried to crush Dissent and to identify High Toryism with Exclusive Anglicanism, was as purely ecclesiastical as the queen herself could have wished to see it. This was the Schism Act, providing that no one in the United Kingdom or in Ireland should keep a school of any sort unless he were a member of the Established Church, had received the Communion according to its rites within the year, had further subscribed to the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. That measure passed its second reading in the House of Commons by 237 to 126 and its third reading in the Lords by 77 against 72. The hereditary showed in this matter more independence than the elective chamber; for the vigorous protest against the bill included not only all the most famous

Whigs but several bishops as well. It did, however, afterwards lead to the breaking up of the Bolingbroke-Harley Ministry. That event not only secured the appointment of the Whig Shrewsbury to the vacant Lord Treasurership; it prepared the way for the beginning of the Long Whig Dispensation under George I.

Although, therefore, the reigns of Queen Anne and of George I. constitute two parts of the same era, they present certain contrasts which can scarcely be ascribed to the idiosyncrasies of the respective sovereigns. Anne did not possess in greater measure than George either literary aptitudes or strong literary interest, or perhaps real intellectual taste of any kind. Yet her reign was the Augustan period of English literature and of English intellect generally. The reign of her successor might justly be called "The Age of Iron." How is this difference to be explained? Not more under Anne than under George was the English court adorned, as in the days of Elizabeth it had been, by the presence of men famous in science, letters, or art. The penetrating and diffusive influences exercised by a large number of very exceptionally gifted men made the atmosphere of England under the "Good Queen" almost as intellectual as was the Athens of Pericles. If the oligarchy of Whig nobles which practically ruled the country under Anne, and which had lost none of its authority on the accession of George, was not exclusively composed of men not mentally pre-eminent in their order; the Royal Commissioners, Halifax and Somers, who were of their number, had communicated to their colleagues so much of their own admiration for intellect as to ensure Addison first an introduction to office, afterwards, a

pension. As we have already seen, Montague, one of the principal founders of the National Debt and the Bank of England, cultivated the closest official intimacy with Sir Isaac Newton as Master of the Mint, not less than with Locke, the first of English politico-philosophical writers. Later on, Addison was to become a Secretary of State. Steele was a considerable and active member of the House of Commons. Matthew Prior, greatly helped no doubt in his career by his intimacy with the Montague party to which Halifax belonged, had been, at the age of twenty-six, Secretary to the English Embassy at the Hague. There he strongly commended himself to the future William III., he brought over the Articles of Peace contained in the Treaty of Ryswick, after William's succession he was created successively Secretary of State for Ireland, Secretary to the English Embassy in Paris and Commissioner of Plantations and Trade,—a place filled before him by the philosopher Locke. Prior's course of promotion continued under Anne; for in 1712 he was appointed English Ambassador in Paris. Dean Jonathan Swift had been the moving spirit of ministries; as the maker and unmaker of governments he,—more than any other among his contemporaries of the pen, foreshadowed the ascendency afterwards to be enjoyed by the press when the place of the pamphlet should be taken by the daily newspaper. The dean, indeed, foresaw the day when no longer a private writer would timidly venture political advice to a noble lord, but a whole cabinet would meekly obey the categorical imperatives of the editorial "We." Swift indeed above all others organized the profession of literature; he thus secured its recognition by the State; he empowered its members to become the directors of policy and the terrors of ministers.

On the accession of George I., the new reign's intellectual promise cannot have seemed less favourable than had appeared the whole prospect at the time of Anne's death. The mother of the first Hanoverian king, the Electress Sophia, had lived in the closest friendship with Leibnitz. The aunt of George I., Elizabeth of Bavaria, from being the pupil, became the patroness of Descartes. The earlier associations and family antecedents of George I. could not have prepared his subjects for the absolute indifference which, throughout his reign, he displayed to their intellectual welfare, as well as to the interests of the many men among his subjects who, by their gifts and attainments, were well fitted to be the educators and humanisers of their age. The wealth of the nation, together with the skilful finance of the ministry, placed sums practically boundless at the king's disposal. These resources were squandered either on the corruption of parliament, on the enrichment of the royal family, of the Hanoverian court favourites, or in the provision of sinecures for the needy cadets of aristocratic houses. Under Anne much had been done towards encouraging talent, and so educating the public, by the wealthy nobles; their patronage had become almost necessary for a successful start in authorship. George I. induced the upper classes to desist from social encouragement of letters and art.

Nor in this respect were matters much mended when George II. came to the throne. The reign of this sovereign was the era that witnessed the monumental labours, the harassing poverty and all the other unrelieved miseries of Samuel Johnson, as well as the squalid vagabondage of Savage and the lifelong indignities and torments of others, whom,

in his *Lives,* Johnson has described. The tone in which Horace Walpole speaks of the most distinguished men of letters of his day is of itself enough to show that under the two first Hanoverians, the nadir of intellectual indifference or of moral and mental materialism had been reached. Yet it was from these ignoble courts that there shone forth the rays of performance as well as of promise which, in some degree, brightened the prospect. The wife of George I., Queen Sophia (of Brunswick), never failed to exercise, for the highest good of the country, her influence over her husband. The qualities of this remarkable woman's intellect may be judged from her correspondence or conversation with the philosopher Leibnitz. Not less remarkable were some of the acts of State policy in the interest of humanity and enlightenment, whose credit belongs entirely to the queen now named. She it was who secured for Savage, when lying under sentence of death, his pardon. Thomas Carte, the Secretary of Bishop Atterbury, in his history of the period he lived in, provided many later historians with the sources of their knowledge. On a charge of complicity in the conspiracy of his Jacobite and episcopal employer, Carte fled the country; Sophia secured Carte's return and provided him with a peaceful home for his declining years at Caldecott, near Abingdon. The great mathematical divine, Whiston, Lucasian Professor at Cambridge, known wherever the English language is read for his translation of Josephus, had been expelled from his University for the Arianism, disclosed in his *Primitive Christianity* and reproduced in several essays on cognate subjects. Queen Sophia's courageous generosity established the heterodox but sincere and blameless divine in a

suitable home, relieved his immediate wants. She afterwards secured for him a pension. Joseph Butler, born in 1692 at Wantage, the son of a Berkshire draper, was brought up entirely among Nonconformists, to whom by birth he belonged. His first proof of philosophical and dialectical skill was given in a letter to Dr. Samuel Clarke. Already association with a school-fellow, the future Archbishop Secker, had set his thoughts on Anglicanism. Before matriculating at Oriel, Oxford, he joined the National Church, and when he graduated in 1718, took orders in it. Prebendary of Salisbury, rector of several important places in the county of Durham; —such were the chief stages of his clerical progress. All this time occupied with his *Analogy,* he never quitted his library. "No, madam, he is not dead, but he is buried;"—such was Archbishop Blackburne's reply to Queen Sophia's question as to what had become of him. The knowledge thus given was followed by Butler's appointment to a court chaplaincy. Nearly the last words of the queen were in praise of her favourite divine, who, becoming Bishop of Bristol in 1738, refusing the primacy in 1747, was translated to Durham in 1750, died at Bath in 1752, and now rests in Bristol Cathedral. Berkeley was another of this queen's intellectual discoveries; her influence secured the philosopher his first offer of a bishopric, which was then refused because of his preoccupation with schemes for Irish Reform, social and moral. The same discriminating patronage ultimately placed him in the See of Cloyne and gave him the leisure and freedom from worldly anxieties that enabled him to make his later contributions to the history and development of human knowledge.

Why such instances of individual pre-eminence in intellect, in knowledge, and in all the higher activities of life as those just named, should have been the exception and not the rule under George I., is not difficult to understand, and is not to be ascribed exclusively to the systematic neglect by the king of the nobler interests of human existence, to his preoccupation with the courtiers he had brought from Hanover, or to his absorption in the charms of the two mistresses, known in England as the Duchess of Kendal and Baroness Kielmansegge (afterwards Countess of Darlington); both these ladies will always live in Thackeray's lectures on the first Hanoverian king. The chief historian of the Georgian epoch has rightly drawn attention * to the many new forces in different departments of life or thought, called into activity during the earlier of the 116 years occupied by the four Georges (1714–1830). Abroad, Russia for the first time made her influence felt on the politics of Western Europe; Prussia began to take the lead among the German States and to give a clear presage of her future imperial ascendency. In France, under the leadership of Diderot, the encyclopædists not only co-operated with the English Deists in organizing the attack on Christian Revelation, but set in motion some of those mighty agencies which were to find their full expression in the French Revolution first, and in the reconstruction of the map of Europe afterwards. At home, London doctors profited by the efforts of foreign physicians to subdue the scourge of smallpox, long the most dreaded disease of eighteenth century Europe. Dr. Maitland, helped by Lady Mary Montagu, intro-

* Lecky's *History of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I., p. 576.

duced from Turkey into England the prophylactic of inoculation. The future Queen Caroline, then Princess of Wales, who, from youth, displayed as vivid an interest in every movement for the national good as she subsequently did when queen, encouraged the new medical treatment; the doctors at first frowned upon it; it was tried on five criminals condemned to death, pardoned for the express purpose of undergoing the experiment, and with conclusively satisfactory results. After this, two of the royal children were inoculated, much to the indignation of certain divines, who saw in the artificial superinducement of disease an endeavour to counteract a divine visitation and to imitate the devil in causing, as he did, boils to break out upon the most patient of the patriarchs. The court, however, and the inoculators generally, were supported by the Bishop of Worcester, Madox, who circumstantially proved that to neglect human means of preventing disease was to provoke Providence. Still the opposition was by no means disarmed. During the eight years following the discovery, less than a thousand persons were inoculated. Gradually, from all quarters of the globe came accounts which no longer left it open to doubt, that the new specific, in the vast majority of cases, was both harmless and successful. In 1746, inoculation was further advanced by the opening of the London smallpox hospital for the purpose of performing the operation, as well as receiving the sick. In 1754, the Royal College of Physicians endorsed the new treatment. Even thus, the prejudice against inoculation did not end. Nor indeed was its survival surprising. Inoculation undoubtedly killed some who submitted to it; not being a preventive but a palliative, it created new centres, though perhaps of

a less deadly sort of affection. Very carefully performed, it operated as a tolerably certain antidote. But it was only the richer classes who had it in their power to secure such careful performance. Even with them it was sometimes followed by an increase of deaths from the disease itself. Its real and inestimable value consisted, of course, in its being the forerunner of the vaccination discovered by Jenner. Neither in the domain of spiritual life nor in the matter of social and moral reform was the Georgian period uneventful. In 1785, as a member of St. John's College, Cambridge, whither he had gone from St. Paul's School, Thomas Clarkson, the Wisbech schoolmaster's son, carried off the prize for the best Latin essay on the question of the permissibility of making slaves of others against their will. That is probably the first instance of a College dissertation becoming a national force.* Clarkson himself, who also started the first sailors' and soldiers' homes, was an Anglican clergyman. Though throughout his life, both by good works and evangelical sympathies, closely associated with Dissenters, especially those of the Clapham Sect, and more particularly of the Society of Friends, he never left the Established Church. Yet he devoted his whole time to co-operating with William Wilberforce from the day that in 1787 the subject first came before parliament till in 1807 the victory was secured and the trade in slaves began to be abolished.

The Queen of George I. may have limited to the Church of England the active display of her interest

* In our own time something of a parallel instance may be found in the general success of Mr. Bryce's Essay on the *Holy Roman Empire*, long since established as a text-book for the Oxford History Schools.

in spiritual matters. She was not an unconcerned spectator of the gradual assertion and extension, through different classes, of the greatest religious force of the eighteenth century, the movement summed up in the word Wesleyanism. This was the most powerful form of the reaction against the theological indifference or religious infidelity of the day. The Puritans and the Non-jurors had been animated partly by political as well as religious motives. The Tractarian or Oxford Movement of the nineteenth century was, to a large extent, intellectual as well as theological; it also owed much to the personal views or ambitions of its leaders and to the success with which these organized the traditions favourable to Tractarianism, as long as well as deeply rooted in the academic and ecclesiastical life of Oxford. John Wesley had been born before the reign of George I. began. His father, originally a Nonconformist, joining the Church of England comparatively late in life, had received from William III. the rectory of Hepworth in Lincolnshire. While he was in his sixth year, his father's rectory house had been burnt down. John Wesley ascribed his deliverance from the flames to a special intervention of Providence. Throughout his life, like experiences of Divine vigilance shown for his special good were matters of daily occurrence. The teachers who first touched and trained his soul were not those regarded as Evangelical. The *Imitation* of Thomas à Kempis, the *Holy Living and Dying* of Jeremy Taylor; finally, William Law's *Serious Call;*—such were the writers who moulded the mind and disciplined the soul of the founder of Wesleyanism; much later, the same authorities were to be the sources whence Keble, Newman, Pusey and their followers drew the in-

spiration which found expression in the moral and spiritual teaching of the early Oxford Tractarians. Wesley and his organization were helped by the defects, as well as by the excellences, moral or intellectual, of the authors of the movement. John Wesley's fervid energy and commanding capacity for organization were effectively combined with the moderating influence peculiar to the gentler and poetic genius of his brother Charles. George Whitefield, whose early youth was passed as an ostler, educated himself by his servitorship at Christ Church, Oxford, and became on both sides of the Atlantic the mightiest of pulpit powers in winning souls. These were, each of them in their way, serviceable to the awakening work of Methodism. Not less indispensable or more permanently useful were the very intellectual blemishes of Whitefield himself; the florid and exaggerated, if forcible rhetoric, from which cultivated ears instinctively shrink, but which in the eighteenth century was not less successful with the masses than, in our own day, have proved the not dissimilar methods of a Spurgeon or of a Moody. The achievements of Wesleyanism in the Press were second only to those in the Pulpit. James Hervey, by his indefatigable pen, familiarised the general public with one aspect of the religious connection, whose first beginnings had owed much to himself. His *Meditations* went through seventeen editions in as many years; they are still popular with evangelical readers. Similarly Whitefield's minute vindication of his doctrines, contained in his most considerable work, *Theron and Aspasio,* sold ten thousand copies in nine months. This book was also of immense personal service to Whitefield's chief brother evangelists. Later indeed Hervey, who al-

ways inclined to extreme Calvinism, keenly attacked John Wesley for his supposed Arminianism, and especially for his unsoundness on the doctrine of election. Nor was Whitefield—probably the greatest master of pulpit eloquence ever produced by English Nonconformity—much less powerful with his pen than with his speech. Wesley himself was, as has been seen, "a brand plucked from the burning" of his father's rectory. Whitefield formed another instance of saving grace. Some of the early Oxford Tractarians confessed with humiliation an excessive fondness for hot buttered toast. George Whitefield admitted an inordinate love, not only for strong drinks and their exhilarating effects, but for the theatre and the sweetmeats sold therein between the acts. Doubtless his theatrical tastes were useful to him in the pulpit. The temperament implied by such qualities may also explain his fits of morbid and prolonged prayer, his passing of the whole night on the ground in Christ Church walk. In 1773 Charles Wesley gave Whitefield a book with the title, *The Light of God on the Soul.* That work inspired many pages of Whitefield's writing or preaching at this period on the doctrine of Free Salvation, which it was his work specially to expound. Whitefield also resembled Wesley in having been, during his Oxford days, in all religious matters, a severely self-disciplining formalist and legalist. So strict were his Lenten fastings as, when the forty days were over, to leave him in a state of complete physical exhaustion.

As has been already said, the earlier Georgian era produced or witnessed an apparent decline in the English character,—in English courage, enterprise, intellectual spirit and patriotism. And this not be-

cause the sovereigns themselves were men of mean character or of grovelling tastes, but because the whole nation was experiencing the reaction after periods of excessive exaltation or excitement. These epochs had begun with the Civil War. The same contest continued throughout the whole Stuart Period. If for a moment it seemed to be suspended at the Restoration, it was soon renewed and continued up to the Revolution of 1688. Politically, intellectually, morally and spiritually, the nation, long overwrought, found itself, under the early Georges, exhausted. None of the events, issues, few even of the personages of the new era, were calculated to revive enthusiasm among a people so wearied by protracted wars, as by the very fact of their repetition to become almost indifferent to the series of Marlborough's victories. If the *de facto* king depressed the public spirit of his people, the Pretenders who called themselves *de jure* kings failed to exercise any exalting influence.

"A prince to live and die for" is the estimate in Sir Walter Scott's famous romance pronounced by Waverley on the Young Chevalier. As a fact the later leaders of Jacobitism failed as entirely to touch the heart or fire the enthusiasm of the country as the earlier Georges themselves. On the throne of the Plantagenets was seated in the seventeenth century a Dutchman of forbidding manner whom no potations, however copious, of his native hollands mellowed to geniality. In the eighteenth century, a king from Hanover at St. James' or Windsor consoled himself for the loss of his dear Herrenhausen by the talk of his German chamberlains or secretaries, by the antics of the negroes whom he had made captive in his Turkish wars, or by the blandishments of one elderly,

ugly lady whose real surname was Schulenberg, whose English title was Duchess of Kendal, but of such stature and leanness as to be nicknamed "The Maypole," and of another lady, not younger or more inviting, *née* Kielmansegge (the Countess of Darlington), of form so substantial as to be dubbed "The Elephant."*

If, however, men turned their eyes from the prince who, up to middle age, as Elector of Hanover, had lived a crass, soulless, sensual, sordid, but not unhappy life, till at the age of fifty-four he ascended what he was pleased to call the throne of his ancestors, what did they see? James Frederick Edward Stuart, by his enemies known in his later years as the Old Pretender, and among his friends and adherents as the Chevalier de Saint George, was the son of James II., by his second wife, Maria D'Este. After the death of four children of nearly the same age, had followed a long interval of childlessness. Then on June 10, 1688, appeared the little boy, whose advent raised so high the hopes of the partisans of the House of Stuart, and provoked such unkind stories about himself and his parentage, from the family enemies. The story of the warming-pan, with the babe of a miller's wife inside it, conveyed to the royal bedroom on that 10th of June, lived long after the last hope of the Stuarts was in his grave. The babe was not six months old, when his distracted mother hurried him in his cradle to St. Germains. On his father's death, in 1701, the

* These touches of personal description of the Royal Favourites are taken from Thackeray's *Four Georges*. They do not however seem in all cases to be corroborated in his graver and more authentic history by Lord Stanhope, who merely speaks of the Countess of Darlington as "unwieldy in person."

Stuart adherents proclaimed the child of thirteen as James III. Nor, as he grew up did he fail to give some hope of fitness to play a royal part; he showed real prowess in the war during his service as a French officer in the Low Countries, and at Malplaquet rode valiantly in the van of a great charge. But when his faithful supporter, Lord Mar, in 1715, made his unlucky attempt to raise the Scotch Clans round the prince, the latter, shortly after his landing at Peterhead, retired ignobly to Montrose and then made good his flight.

The Treaty of Utrecht, so long dividing English politicians into two parties—those who denounced it as a base concession of neglected advantages to the enemies of England, and those who, generally anticipating the more equitable verdict of posterity, defended the arrangement as the best of which the circumstances admitted, as in fact the only alternative to further and, because of the exhaustion of France, bootless bloodshed—had now closed France against the Chevalier. He fixed his abode at Rome, where, in St. Peter's, his remains still rest. His later life in the Eternal City consisted of outbreaks of debauchery, followed by fits of tearful and devotional penitence. Was this prematurely-aged, emaciated, worn-out, devout debauchee, tremulous with brandy and incipient paralysis, the kind of Stuart to induce followers of sufficient substance, character and number to risk their heads in the attempt to place him on an hereditary throne, in whose decorous though illegal usurpation the whole country, sulkily perhaps and stolidly, but still contentedly, acquiesced? James Stuart showed indeed in his face the hereditary features and even the hereditary expression. He had, that is to say, about him, what Horace

Walpole happily called the "fatality of air," the look of haunted melancholy common to his ancestor, Charles I., and to Charles II., when his blood was not heated or his countenance distorted by women and wine. The best trait in the "Old Pretender" was his devotion to the Roman Church. His apostasy to Protestantism might time after time have placed the crown upon his head. By plying him with the precedent of Henry of Navarre, who with the famous words on his lips, "Paris is worth a Mass," lightly traversed the theological interval separating Geneva from Rome, many of his most powerful friends urged him to the religious sacrifice. With some shrewdness he pointed out in reply that the cases were not exactly parallel, that Henry IV. of France had always been disposed towards Rome, and that the pseudo James III. had never failed to loathe from his heart the Church of England.

Considering how great a part is played by popular fiction in familiarising the public with the historic personages, it is much to be regretted that in his novel *Esmond,* Thackeray is content with just introducing this prince as a flesh and blood character, and then dismissing him. Lack of physical courage has been said by some to explain his reluctance to bid against the Hanoverians for the English crown. There is nothing whatever to justify that imputation. As has been already said, the Pretender showed, on several European battlefields, the courage of the royal caste. Courage indeed, or a very passable substitute for it, is a quality that can be acquired like other qualities. It is presumptively always improbable that a man, to whom fearlessness in the face of danger or of death is a duty of his station, with the manifold educational opportunities this prince must

have enjoyed, should have failed at any given moment to maintain the appearance of fortitude. Apart from these considerations, the son of James II. can scarcely have wanted inducements to make a bold stroke for his father's throne. His step-sister, Queen Anne, into whose life were crowded so many domestic calamities, always attributed the loss of her children as well as her own constantly cured, but constantly recurring sicknesses or infirmities of body, to the divine wrath at her acquiescence, like her sister Mary, in her father's overthrow and in his son-in-law's usurpation. James Stuart was not likely to be unvisited by the misgivings with which piety or superstition vexed his sister Anne. His moral, like his physical, fibres were relaxed and disordered by his habits of life. His normal state, mental and physical, likely made him a ready prey to morbid fatalism, destructive of anything like vigorous initiative or strenuous enterprise. The sins of the children against their father, he must have felt, were now being visited providentially upon those children. Surely his whole race must be doomed.

Why waste energy, money and blood on a cause so manifestly predestined to failure? Considerations such as these, closely consistent with historical facts as they are, explain an apathy of the Pretender in his own cause which might well be mistaken for pusillanimity or absolute cowardice. No more words perhaps are wanted for a correct understanding of the relations, historical, moral or sentimental, in which the English people now found themselves, towards the principle of monarchy, as well as to its representatives, legitimist or parliamentary.

Within little more than a hundred years the English people had experienced the monarchy of Charles

I.; they had changed that monarchy for a commonwealth, culminating, fatally for itself, as it did, in a military dictatorship; they had gone wild with joy over the transition from the armed tyranny of Puritanism to the restoration of Stuart absolutism. Then had come the purely aristocratic movement which by a parliamentary vote placed a son-in-law and a foreigner on a throne that was still in many quarters popularly talked about as if it were, by Divine appointment, hereditary. After that there follows a reversion to the ancestral principle; when, during little more than a decade, the royal diadem rested upon the brow surmounting a round, full face of fresh, healthy complexion, set in a framework of dark hair. Such was Queen Anne, whom, however, if a distinction is to be drawn between tradition and fact, her people in reality loyally accepted rather than actually loved. The death of this blameless sovereign called forth less perhaps of regret than of apprehension as to the event of the national crisis which all men felt must follow her decease. These alarms proved to be groundless; the funds, as the chief historian of her reign (Lord Stanhope) reminds us, rose when she was first known to be seriously ill, and only fell again when she was rumoured to be recovering. Instead of the anarchy and uproar which the factions rather than the popular imagination had pictured as the sequel to Anne's disappearance, came a short interval of profound calm, disturbed only by a duel in Marylebone Fields between Colonel Chudleigh and a member of parliament named Aldworth, who had quarrelled over a political argument on the day that the new king was peacefully making an uninteresting and unimpressive entry into the capital of his realm. The first of the

Hanoverian line is brought not less visibly before the nineteenth century eye in the graphic words of Horace Walpole than Queen Anne herself is presented on the canvas of Kneller. An elderly man, rather pale, exactly like his pictures and coins, of an appearance good rather than august, short and stout, with dark tie-wig, a plain coat, waistcoat, breeches, stockings of some snuff-coloured material, a blue riband over all;—that is the most vivid and trustworthy description extant of George I. How he fed and drank heavily; how a frequent guest with his minister, Sir Robert Walpole, at Richmond Hill, he swallowed so much punch as to make the Duchess of Kendal place the bottle out of his reach; how upon this His Majesty fired a volley of German oaths unfit for publication at the lady;—these things are, with much else of the same sort, known to every circulating library reader who has ever dipped into the memoirs of the period. The only other acquaintance possessed by the mass of the people about their sovereign related to his habitual, coarse and shameless profligacy, his utter indifference to English welfare or to English modes of thought, and an ignorance of the English language so complete, that his prime minister, Walpole, could find no other medium of communication with his royal master than Latin, and that Lord Carteret, the ablest public man then living, owed any influence he had over George less to moral causes than to his acquaintance with the German language. Trained by royal vicissitudes like those now enumerated, hurried from one contrast to another, making acquaintance with one dynasty or system of government, only to see it immediately dethroned or replaced, the English people could not avoid some confusion of thought on the whole subject of the national

monarchy. What in it was the accidental, what the invariable element; what virtues, if any, in the human embodiment of that monarchy, the word might connote; what, if any, vices, the responsibility of kingship might be expected to avoid; what authority, personal to the king, might be inherent in the anointed of the Lord;—these were all of them points on which the masses could not be expected to possess any clear or stimulating knowledge. During the reign of Anne, the monarchy had in effect been in commission; the vice-sovereigns were taken from the queen's favourites,—the Duchess of Marlborough to-day, Mrs. Masham, to-morrow, some bishop or other divine, on whom for the moment the royal conscience would lean, the next, while it ultimately drifted to the Whig oligarchy, who alertly interposed between the sovereign and her favourite Tories, and who with some unimportant personal changes, with the Whig Addison as secretary, were authorised by George I., after his formal accession under the name of Lord Regent, to carry on the administration.

Under circumstances like these, for loyalty as a passion or even as a principle, there could manifestly be small place. As for allegiance to a person, that could be scarcely more out of the question in the case of a potentate who thought of his bottle first, of his Hanoverian courtiers and mistresses next, of his English subjects not at all, than in the case of a Pretender, who was alcoholising himself into decrepitude in Rome, or seeking counsel as to his political future from painted women at St. Germains or in Lorraine. The personal habits and character of George I. may be truly represented or may be caricatured by the diary-writers or gossip-mongers of his age. As a fact, the king seldom either fell much be-

low, or rose above, the ethical standard of his epoch. In those days, drinking was a vice of no single class; it could not have been more common in the cottage than it was in the court or in the court than in the cabinet. Ministers of State tippled as shamelessly and systematically as did any of their royal superiors. Harley, afterwards Lord Oxford, used to reel into Queen Anne's presence, and more or less articulately, in the intervals of hiccough, to explain his policy to his royal mistress. Carteret's luminous intellect and strong grasp of affairs were such as to warrant Lord Chesterfield's comment on his death, "Take him for all in all, the best brain in England dies with him." Pulteney's religious convictions seem on some points to have been as deep and as genuine as those of a later and still greater leader of opposition, Mr. Gladstone himself. As little as Carteret or Harley was Pulteney free from the prevailing vice. At what exact date intemperance first became a national evil is uncertain. A widely-read and conscientious historian refers without mentioning the name of his authority to an English writer of 1657, who spoke of his countrymen as "steeped in liquors as if they were nothing but sponges, as the grape-suckers of the earth." * The great historian of Elizabeth, Camden, writes, however, as if the habit were in his time of comparatively recent origin. That William III. found his jar of hollands as necessary for the climate of St. James' or of Hampton Court, as for the atmosphere of the Hague, has been already mentioned. Gin-drinking, however, the most morally debasing as well as physically de-

* Lecky's *Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I., p. 471. See also the words placed by Shakespeare on the lips of Iago, *Othello*, Act II., Scene 3.

teriorating of all forms of the vice, does not seem to have been acclimatised in England till the Hanoverian period, when the promise of "drunk for a penny, dead-drunk for two-pence," figured so conspicuously among the sign-boards of the capital.

George I.'s fondness for revisiting Hanover brought about the repeal of the clause in the Act of Settlement forbidding the sovereign to leave his realm without consent of parliament. The same monarch's inability to speak or understand the English tongue, co-operating with his weariness of English politics, caused him to desist from personal presence at Cabinet Councils. This state of things, sordid and degrading as it was, did not lack some compensating advantages. Loyalty to the sovereign as a person was replaced by allegiance to monarchy as an institution. The idea of party government, as it is now understood, did, we have already seen, first suggest itself to Sunderland, the great Duke of Marlborough's son-in-law; unless indeed the germ of the notion is to be found in Sir William Temple's scheme for enlarging the Privy Council, for fixing on it responsibility for the policy of the executive, and for using it as an intermediary between the sovereign and parliament. The period which witnesses the evolution of such a political formula, however essential the same may be to the growth of national liberties, can scarcely coincide with national enthusiasm for the sovereign as an individual. From the days of Anne onward, the Stuart Pretenders, in the manner and for the reasons already described, had failed to inspire the masses with any emotions portending real danger to the Revolution Settlement or to the Hanoverian Dynasty. The personal character and qualities of the first George or of his immediate suc-

cessors were not of the sort to stimulate or to cement affection to the earliest of our constitutional sovereigns. Yet from these two sets of circumstances, both of them negative as they were, came a positive and affirmative result.

Henceforth the fortunes of monarchy in England were to depend, not upon the personal acceptability of sovereigns, but upon the broad results of their administration. For the transition from kingship of the patriarchal to that of the parliamentary or impersonal kind, the Hanoverian era was indispensable to complete the political education of the English people in the theory and practice of parliamentary government. With the Georges the sovereign's position began, as to-day it so closely does, to approximate towards that of the permanent head of a state department, who, unlike its parliamentary chief, remains in office whichever side possesses a majority in the House of Commons. To-day, as in more places than one has been pointed out by a political critic of equal freshness and force (Mr. Walter Bagehot), the exact acquaintance with official and political precedent, that constitutes the chief virtue of a permanent secretary, has become a chief requisite in the typical English sovereign of the present day. George III. was the first monarch pre-eminently furnished with such knowledge. His granddaughter, Victoria, combines her ancestor's breadth and accuracy of information with greater elasticity in applying it. But in our time, the change now indicated has been accompanied in its operation, if not in its establishment, by political and national phenomena of an exactly opposite sort. The personal affection of English people for their reigning sovereign died out entirely, was even exchanged for

personal antipathy, under William III. That affection was feebly revived by Anne. Under the early Hanoverians it ceased to be an appreciable force. In the case of Queen Victoria, and her family, the sentiment has incalculably grown in strength.

How that experience has coincided, not with the assertion of the sovereign's official personality but rather with its effacement; how, in other words, kings and queens, resigning themselves to the loss of those prerogatives of power once deemed of the essence of sovereignty, have regained as men and women what they have lost as monarchs;—these are the changes and developments of chief interest and importance in the history of English sovereignty during the present century. The conclusion is unintelligible without some preliminary knowledge of the premises. Some retrospective introduction to the period especially treated of in this work, therefore, seemed necessary to enable the reader to estimate correctly the various elements and forces inherent in monarchy during that period. How the Georgian era of English sovereignty prepared the way for a revival of the real power of the crown in the most democratic period of English history; how, as a result of the pervasive personality of the English sovereigns, whatever of liberty can be secured in a republic, belongs to all who live under a monarchy,—one by feeling, tradition, as well as by historic unity, with that of the Plantagenets, Tudors, and Stuarts, will be the central theme of the succeeding pages. The traditional charge against the Hanoverian dynasty and the men who made it possible is that the accession of George I. marked only the triumph of a faction. Certainly but for the compactness of the Whig or-

ganization, begun under William III. and completed under Anne, a Stuart Restoration apparently could not have been prevented. The members of the exiled house and their partisans at large expressed the conservatism of the English people at this period. Of course another phase of the national character and feeling, not less real in its way, was represented by the Prince of Orange. Nor did William III. fail in his attempt so to broaden the basis of the Whiggism to which he owed his crown, or to invest it with a national importance. Eventually, indeed, he found himself obliged to give up the idea of a ministry, composed of men of all parties and all schools of political thought; he fell back upon the homogeneous government which Sunderland had foreseen to be indispensable for conducting the national affairs. Throughout the era of the Revolution the national atmosphere was charged with issues, social and religious, of such fundamental importance to the national polity as to be easily apprehended by the popular mind. Events had from the first identified the son-in-law of James II., and those who signed the invitation to him, with the advocacy of principles in Church and State, undoubtedly acceptable to the common sense of the nation. The alternative to a change of dynasty was popery and despotism. Rather than pay that price for legitimate sovereignty, the country began by acquiescing in the usurpation of William III. and ended by recognizing in him the heaven-ordained champion of those liberal principles in Church and State which men like to believe were strictly consistent with English monarchy. How, by his cold and austere manner, William of Orange had repelled, chilled, and even alienated popular feeling, has been already seen. The first Hanoverian king possessed

no qualities likely to make him more popular than his Orange predecessor. The charge of being the monarch of a faction, so persistently brought against George I., has been conclusively disposed of by Hallam.* Still the distribution of the chief offices in the State among politicians of one colour excited popular dissatisfaction; and this, notwithstanding the fact that George I. was bound by constitutional ties, as well as by personal obligations to the party which had placed him on his throne. Hybrid administrations had been proved, even under so great a ruler as William III., to be incompatible with the national welfare. Sunderland's plan of entrusting the government to members of the party with the majority in the House of Commons was now generally accepted. Yet this plan, though long since proved to be the only sound and safe method of procedure, does not seem, on the accession of George I., practically to have won the acceptance of all political sections. Such seems the explanation of the discontent excited by the Whig ministries of George I., representing, though these did, the parliamentary majorities of the day. Long after this the relations between ministerial responsibility, as it is now understood, and party government, as it was promoted by Sunderland, were not popularly understood.

During the earlier years of the eighteenth century, parties as we know them to-day can scarcely be said to have existed. Common sense and the traditional usage of English politics happened, during the period now mentioned, to be on the same side as that which the Whigs espoused; so a little earlier, in the days of Anne, the foreign policy of non-intervention,

* Hallam, *Constitutional History*, Vol. III., p. 303.

favoured by the Tories, had made them the truest exponents of the political thought of the country. Nor, indeed, is it open to doubt that in giving his entire confidence to the ruling Whigs, George I. showed a true perception alike of the national temper and of the national necessities. One proof of that fact may be found in the exasperation of the Jacobites at the conduct of the king and his Whig counsellors. The disappointment of the Stuart adherents showed itself in the series of disturbing movements; all organized or promoted by the Tories for replacing George by the Pretender; they all failed. These disturbances produced one of the most noticeable pieces of legislation in the reign. The prevalence of riots, often instigated by Tory malcontents, compelled the government to pass the Riot Act, which has continued in force till this day; this statute provides that "when three or more persons assemble to disturb the peace, the local authority can command their dispersion by a proclamation, and if that command be disobeyed, can proceed to use force for the dispersion of the meeting." In Scotland, the force of the tribal spirit encouraged the Stuart Pretenders to several ill-advised rebellions. But not even Highland loyalty to the head of the clan—a sentiment illustrated by the genius of Sir Walter Scott in the novel of *Waverley*—sufficed to prevent the practically decisive defeats of Preston, of Sheriffmuir, of Montrose and of Aberdeen. The political troubles or the dynastic feuds of the time were responsible for another legislative measure, as enduring as, and constitutionally more important than, the Riot Act. The parliamentary elections held during the earlier part of 1714 testify by their results to the national acceptance of the Whig *régime*. Jacobitism, however,

continued to be the actively disturbing and embroiling agency of the country. Life in England probably has never been, for purely political reasons, so uncomfortable as during the earlier years of the eighteenth century; it was rendered so by the sporadic and periodical outbursts of Jacobitism, spreading as that agitation did the feeling of mutual suspicion and of social bitterness through all classes of citizens.

Even George I., uninformed as he was as to English feeling and the conditions of English life, perceived what an amount of mischief would be wrought on all sides, and how greatly not only the public peace but the efficiency of parliament would be imperilled if general elections were held in the then condition of the national atmosphere. We have already traced the history of the Triennial Act. The first measure of that name, passed during the thirteen years of the Long Parliament, was repealed in 1664; in 1694 the cancelled statute was in its main features re-enacted; no movement against the Triennial Act was made till 1717. That was the year fixed for an appeal to constituencies; from one end to another, the kingdom was then in a state of ferment; the added excitement of a general election might easily have caused popular riots to pass into civil war; to postpone the dissolution was manifestly the one way of avoiding the danger. The suggestion, if not originally made by the king himself, was immediately adopted by his ministers. The Septennial Act, under which we live to-day, replaced the Triennial Act, without much difficulty in parliament, though not without some parliamentary and more popular dissatisfaction, as well as a good deal of legitimate criticism and change. The absolutism of

Charles ended in the dictatorship of the House of Commons; that was followed by Cromwell's military usurpation. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these earlier experiences, whether as precedent or warning, seemed too recent to be ignored. One need not therefore be surprised at the proposal to prolong the duration of the parliament from three to seven years being denounced as usurpation of prerogative only less flagrant than the vote of the Long Parliament declaring itself indissoluble save at its own pleasure, and as an invasion of the rights of the crown. The conclusive justification of the enactment is to be found in the circumstances of the time, and is testified by the opinions of the chief contemporary champions of parliamentary and popular rights. Lord Somers, a very Whig of very Whigs, pronounced a change indispensable to national feeling. The then Speaker of the popular chamber, Onslow, declared the Septennial Act necessary for emancipating the House of Commons from its dependence on the Crown and on the Peers. Of course, there remains the constitutional argument against the Septennial Act, based, as that argument is, on the incapacity of a chamber chosen by the constituencies for three years to sit for seven. There might be some ground for the apprehension that an assembly, which had taken one step to prolong its existence, might continue indefinitely to make such efforts. In 1720, when the first Septennial House of Commons had nearly fulfilled its existence, the project was made of further postponing its dissolution.* Since the passing of the Act now mentioned, many

* Coxe's *Memoirs of Walpole*, quoted by Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, Vol. III., p. 317.

attempts have been made either to restore the Triennial System or even still further to shorten the life of parliament, as in that "point of the charter" which stipulated for annual parliaments. The most important proposal to repeal the Septennial Act was that of 1733, favoured by Walpole and his followers.

These opinions were not the expressions of interested partisanship; they rested upon the most indisputable and flagrant facts. Before the Reform Act of 1832, representative government in England existed merely as a phrase. Constituencies, in the modern sense, had only a precarious and sporadic existence. Borough and county members were alike returned, for the most part, by the agency of local officials, who were the tools of the landed interest in the neighbourhood; in other words, of the Lords, or who were merely nominees of the court. Each recurring general election did, indeed, little more than provide a fresh opportunity for a territorial nobility or an ambitious sovereign registering their will and compassing their ends by the instrumentality of "free and independent" electors, amenable to the lowest of material considerations. The ambitions and the passions of the great political families were among the higher influences brought into play during the electoral period. That period always sowed the seeds of class bitterness and of personal feuds, enduring long after the struggle itself was at an end. It not only paralysed business, and so interfered with the national prosperity; it might at any moment, with the dynastic issues with which the air was then charged, have produced an armed rebellion. In another parliamentary measure, carried about this time, the personal influence of George I. was seen

more directly and with scarcely less important results. Stanhope, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the minister, with whom the king spared no pains to ingratiate himself. Thus was secured such a modification, already mentioned in the Act of Settlement, as enabled the king to leave England. On these visits to Hanover, Stanhope was his companion. The absence from his colleagues of that minister gradually resulted in the admission of influences into the cabinet, subversive of the unity of the administration; foreign intrigue soon embittered the mutual relation of the king's advisers; there gradually sprung up an opposition between the member of the government who went abroad with George and those members who stayed behind. In this way the ministerial position was gradually weakened. The Tories saw their opportunity. The reign of George I. witnessed the complete organization of a constitutional parliamentary opposition to the ministers of the day. Of that hostile connection, Pulteney, though originally a Whig, was the first great leader. Its existence was soon recognized as not less essential to parliamentary government than the government itself. It thus very early won the title of His Majesty's Opposition.

In the external relations of England, the opening decades of the eighteenth century were a time full of foreign diplomatic intrigue and of court scandals; the latter grew out of George's relations with his eldest son. During the king's absences abroad, the Prince of Wales, by the style of guardian, acted as Regent; he used that position to alienate from his father Lord Townshend, the Chief Secretary of State, and secure that minister's adhesion to himself. The king's affection for Hanover gradually caused

a feud between the two sections of which the Whig party has always consisted. His foreign visits were also historically important because they promoted a friendly meeting between Stanhope when attending his monarch abroad and the Abbé Dubois, a diplomatic agent of the Regent Orleans. During the complicated transactions that followed, George I., even if he never completely succeeded in being his own Foreign Minister, contrived with some skill and more effect to turn to his own ends the jealousies excited chiefly on foreign issues which rent his cabinet, and to play off one minister against another. As a consequence, at this epoch, the determining factor in the foreign policy of England, by virtue of the sovereign's nationality and prejudices, became German. The first Hanoverian, as it was also the first English object, was to deprive the Stuart Pretender of all hope of French assistance. But for the Hanover trip of George I., 1716, that object would not have been accomplished so easily or so soon as it was actually brought about. The negotiations that were to withdraw French help from the Pretender were so managed by George and his ministers as to subserve other and wider purposes and to substitute for acute international irritation some tolerable degree of amity and repose in the relations between the chief states of Europe. Lord Townshend, the negotiator of the Barrier Treaty (1709), giving to the Dutch the right of garrisoning a line of fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, during some years fulfilled the duties of Foreign Secretary of State. George I. disliked and mistrusted, but used him, or at least did not see his way to get rid of him, or to find another politician whom he

could play off more successfully against other members of the cabinet. Most, if not all the continental governments were honeycombed by internal jealousies and dissensions. The Barrier Treaty had placed Austria in a state of chronic irritation. The Emperor, Charles II., viewed with dissatisfaction the growing power of the princes of his dominions. He had seen the Elector of Saxony become King of Poland, the Elector of Brandenburg become King of Prussia, and finally the Elector of Hanover become King of England. These imperial sentiments put entirely out of the question the re-establishment of the Grand Alliance, which, to prevent the union of the French and Spanish monarchies, had in the May of 1689 been signed between England, the Empire and the States General at Vienna.

A new era in the diplomatic relations of the chief polities of Europe was in fact brought about, as a direct consequence of the visit to Hanover of George I. and the meeting there, between the French Emissary, the Abbé Dubois already named, and the English Minister, in attendance on His Majesty, Stanhope. By it, it was agreed that France, under the Regent Orleans, should give up the Stuart cause and destroy certain works at Mardyke on the coast, undertaken as a menace to England. On these terms negotiations for an Anglo-French Imperial treaty—to which Holland also was to be a party—went forward successfully. The chief mover in this business was throughout the king of England himself. The motive impelling him to that activity was a regard for the integrity of his Hanoverian dominions, threatened as they seemed to be by Charles XII. of Sweden, who, after his defeat at Pultowa, hoped to re-establish himself, if not with the help of Tur-

key, yet with the help of England, as against his once conquered but now most active enemies, Russia, Poland and Denmark. Hanover, however, had been won over by the Danes, by receiving Bremen and Verden, both of which had been wrested from Charles XII. England was thus brought very near a rupture with Sweden and Russia, that would undoubtedly have kindled before long the flames of a general European war. That contingency was foreseen by the English king, who also perceived that further disturbances might operate to the advantage of the Stuart Pretender and was thus impatient of the delays placed by the Dutch Constitution in the way of concluding the new Treaty of 1716, just described. Dissatisfied with Townshend, George I. showed his disgust by doing all he could to set his other ministers by the ears. Eventually Townshend's easy temper proved instrumental in averting some of the worst results of the ministerial ruptures which the king laboured to aggravate. Townshend, in fact, accepted his dismissal and the new office found him in the Irish viceroyalty. After that, the diplomatic movements, so long set on foot, quickly proceeded to a satisfactory conclusion. In January, 1717, was formed a Triple Alliance between England, Holland and France. Of that arrangement, the chief features were the guarantee of the Protestant succession in England and the renunciation by the French king of all claim to the Spanish throne. Still Townshend had been dismissed, and, as he and his friends thought, victimised to the designs of the political favourites at court. Walpole and other important Whigs either deserted the Administration, or henceforward gave it a lukewarm support. Political power became concentrated in Stanhope. The

opposition was recruited by Whigs, who had taken offence at the treatment received by Townshend, Walpole's brother-in-law, from the king. Thus, while the personal interests in Hanover of the king had, by taking him thither and by bringing about a meeting between English and French diplomatists, directly promoted an *entente cordiale* between England and France, fatal to Jacobitism, the price paid for these advantages was the weakening of the cabinet by the internal discords thereby engendered. By his general conduct of home and foreign affairs, Stanhope consistently rewarded the confidence reposed in him by George. The shrewdness of this statesman was shown especially by the attitude which he assumed towards the impeachment of Oxford on a charge that from the first he had seen to be untenable. Walpole held a different view, but the result completely justified Stanhope. After the Commons had refused to proceed with the impeachment the Lords met in Westminster Hall, conferred together for twenty minutes by the clock, and then declared the impeachment to be at an end. Another mistake of the same kind was committed by the king's most celebrated adviser, Walpole, in the support which he gave contrary, as is supposed, to the king's own judgment, to the charges of peculation brought against Lord Cadogan. "Downright Shippen," the chief Jacobite opponent, but a personal friend of Walpole, was the principal mover of these charges. Stanhope protested, but the charges, with Walpole to support, were pressed forward; eventually they failed altogether.

On another and more important occasion, however, Walpole's judgment showed itself in a strongly favourable light, and, fortunately for the king and

country, to better effect than upon the occasion either of the Oxford impeachment or the Cadogan peculation charge. As has been more than once remarked in these pages and as, for a right understanding of the personal and political forces of the period now dealt with, it is necessary should ever be borne in mind, the essentially aristocratic movement which in 1688 placed William on the throne of James II., had not vitally impaired, nor was it intended by its patrician authors seriously to weaken, the influence of the crown. The change of dynasty in the seventeenth century regulated or even checked the kingly power. Its exact effect was to transfer the supreme power from the king himself to a commission of Whig nobles. There is therefore some truth in Disraeli's entertaining epigram, that the glorious cause of the constitution for which Hampden died on the field, for which a Russell and a Sidney perished on the scaffold, was in effect the practical ascendency of the Whig nobility. During much of the period now in review, George I., and the Tories whom he occasionally favoured, undoubtedly represented the nation with more fidelity than did the Whigs. Thus the Treaty of Utrecht could not have been carried but for the indisputable declaration of the nation against the continuance of the war, as well as by such an exercise of the king's prerogative as resulted in a creation of new peers, sufficiently large to swamp the Whig majority in the Upper House. The Whigs therefore at this time found themselves confronted by two growing rivals to their power, one popular, the other royal. A combination of these two forces might at any moment have upset all the Whig arrangements and destroyed for ever the Whig pretensions to popular championship. That contingency

the Peerage Bill of 1719 was designed to prevent. By it the crown would have been deprived of the power to create more than six Patents of Nobility, beyond the number already in existence, 178; other provisions of this measure were the filling up of extinct peerages, the limitation of new peerages to heirs male, and the replacement of the sixteen Scotch representative peers by twenty-five hereditary nominees of the crown. Sunderland and Stanhope both supported the measure, which was carried by a large majority through the Upper House. The disaffected Whigs, who had resented the court treatment of Walpole and his brother-in-law Townshend, showed a truer political instinct by securing the defeat of the proposal in the House of Commons. A pithy phrase in Walpole's condemnation of the Bill merits preservation alike as illustrating his shrewd common sense and homely vigour of his rhetoric. Said Walpole: "One of the most powerful incentives to virtue will be taken away if this bill be passed, since there would be no arriving at honour, but through the winding-sheet of a decrepit lord or the grave of an extinct noble family." The measure, as has been said, was lost; it is a pregnant instance of the very imperfect recognition then accorded to the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, that not only did the chief promoter of the Peerage Bill, Stanhope, see no reason to resign, but that the malcontent Whigs, including Townshend and Walpole, marked their sense of the national strength of a defeated administration by hastening to re-enter it, Walpole as Paymaster of the Forces, Townshend as Lord President of the Council.

The Whig Administration of George I. now seemed stronger than ever. Yet as a fact, though upon

a question entirely different from those which had already so shaken the government, its final fall was not long to be delayed. "I agree with the ministers, that until the national debt is discharged, or is in a fair way of being so, we cannot properly call ourselves a nation." So, during the epoch now under review, had spoken in the House of Commons, the bearer of a name as well known in the parliamentary history of the eighteenth as in that of the nineteenth century, Mr. Brodrick. As has been already seen, the modern system of finance followed in the train of the 1688 Revolution, largely in consequence of the efforts of Halifax and the able men of business as well as of genius with whom that statesman had the wisdom to associate himself. Finance, however, cannot be said to have assumed its modern place among political influences until the reign of George I. Then first it was that the sagacity of that not very highly gifted sovereign, shown in entirely trusting to ministers, strong alike in their own abilities and in the national confidence, was followed by a sudden and great increase in the national prosperity. The sense of national safety produced among the well-to-do middle classes by the failure of Jacobitism and by the establishment of the Hanoverian succession, as it made the nation richer, made at the same time money cheaper. Henceforward financiers aimed at two objects: the reduction of the National Debt and the payment of lower interest for what might be still owing. Hence the origin of the South Sea Company, which was to have results of such deep political moment and of such far-reaching importance. It is not needful to rewrite the familiar history of that episode. It speedily ended in the overthrow of the then existing administration, followed

by the rise of Walpole to the first place, and by his restoration of national confidence. The South Sea Scheme of 1720 had been helped on by the interest taken in it by George I.; the project was specially mentioned in the king's speech which closed the session of 1719, and the mention occurred at the time when addresses from the throne were more directly inspired by the monarch than has since then become the case. The principle of the project that ended so disastrously was not itself unsound. The bulk of the government debt consisted of redeemable and irredeemable annuities; the burden of these was equivalent to the payment of heavy interest on the amount of the debt, and no alleviation of this burden could be had, unless the annuity holder could be brought to acquiesce in its reduction. The government desired to bring all their obligations of this kind into a general fund at a lower rate of interest. The South Sea Company came forward with the offer to be the one creditor of the government instead of a multitude of annuitants; at the same time the interest paid by the State was to be reduced from 7 or 8 per cent. to 4 or 5; to 5 till the year 1727, after that to 4, till capital and interest were both returned. As its special mention by the king was one of the circumstances which promoted the success of the South Sea Scheme, so the project was further helped on or advertised by the Hanoverian *habitués* of the court, who were won over by large bribes of fictitious capital. Five separate subscriptions to the South Sea Scheme were set on foot. All were immediately taken up. Then came the bursting of the Bubble; from all classes rose a loud cry against the South Sea directors. In November, 1720, began the parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of such of the pro-

moters of the project as were in parliament. Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and several other members implicated in the undertaking were expelled. Gibbon, the historian, then sitting in the House of Commons, generally characterised the retributive measures taken against those implicated in the affair as acts of vengeance rather than justice; the private property of the directors was confiscated in order to mitigate to the public the consequences of its own greedy credulity. Eventually a sum in all amounting to rather more than 30 per cent. of their contributions was distributed among the shareholders. This series of acts of reparation, accomplished as they were during the concluding years of the first George, by his chief Minister, served to fix popular attention upon Sir Robert Walpole, whose personal relations with the king and his court will be examined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE I., GEORGE II., CROWN, CHURCH, EMPIRE AND PEOPLE.

For reasons already explained at sufficient length, the reign of George I., as a consequence of the personal qualities and tastes of the king himself, had marked the opening of a new era in the development of English sovereignty. For much the same reasons, it opened a fresh chapter in the relation of England with the continental powers. It was, we have seen, on one of George's visits to Hanover, in the company of Lord Stanhope, that the Cardinal Dubois, the Foreign Minister of the Regent Orleans, and the most powerful subject in France, held a conference with the English representative, and an alliance between England, France and Prussia, with the chief object of depriving the Stuart Pretender of French help, was formed by way of rejoinder to the first Treaty of Vienna, hostile to England and concluded during the previous year. Thus did the Hanoverian antecedents of the first George and his lifelong affection for his old German home cause or coincide with the assumption by England of an entirely new set of international responsibilities, in consequence of which she ceased to be merely an insular state, and at once took her place among the Great Powers of Europe. That position had for some time gradually fallen to the lot of England. At the Dutch town, giving its name to this famous diplomatic instru-

ment, England had taken her place among the first powers of modern Europe. The policy and the patriotism of that Treaty were long and severely attacked; whatever its faults, it secured the Protestant succession in England, the separation of the French and Spanish crowns and the beginning of England's greatness as a colonial power. The Utrecht Treaty of 1713 had prepared the way for the triumph of British diplomacy fourteen years later. It was thus the necessary preparation for the counter Treaty of Hanover, concluded in 1727, with which England met the Treaty of Vienna.

If the nationality, the personal partialities and movements of George I. were influences favourable and necessary to the various national developments which his reign witnessed, the character of the statesmen whom he trusted is shown not less clearly than the personality of the king in the political results of the period. If to stamp his mark indelibly upon his period be the sign of a great man, Walpole, more than any of his contemporaries, deserves that description. Whatever the means he employed, however degrading his belief in human weakness, no statesman could have manipulated more skilfully, or, so far as concerned his country's need, more advantageously, the agencies and opportunities at his disposal, than this typical eighteenth century Norfolk squire. His convivial habits were shared with his royal master as well as with his contemporary Pulteney, first his colleague and friend, then his rival and opponent, and these tastes were chargeable to the age more than to the man. Walpole had little of mental cultivation and not many refined tastes; he formed the famous Houghton collection of pictures, but seemed rather to have regarded its contents

as chattels than as works of beauty or art. He understood, as few men did, the eighteenth century and the unreformed House of Commons of that time—an assembly which bore a much greater resemblance to the House of Lords of to-day than to the popular Chamber of our own times. By his long knowledge and study of it, he succeeded in mastering the temper, the tendencies, the fortes, the foibles of the elective Chamber more thoroughly than any statesman had yet attempted to do. Walpole was thus the first of a long line of statesmen whose management placed a new weapon in the sovereign's hand. Lord North first and Lord Palmerston afterwards have both reproduced something of the example of Walpole. Above all things, Walpole was the first prime minister who embodied in himself an ideal of parliamentary skill and of personal qualities which since his time Englishmen, consciously or unconsciously, have felt a relief at discovering in their parliamentary rulers. He was the forerunner of those later members of Parliament, always ready to congratulate themselves on having always voted against that "d——d intellect" and on resolving to do so to the last. With Walpole's shrewdness, prescience and patriotism, was liberally mingled that dash of mediocrity that most of England's greatest prime ministers have had; that quality, present in Sir Robert Peel, won him the confidence of the middle classes; absent in Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone, prevented their gaining the same popular position, as was won by a Melbourne or a Palmerston. Himself, above all things, a country gentleman, not of the most refined order, Walpole held supreme sway over the greatest assembly of country gentlemen which the world has ever seen. These are the men who have made the

popular Chamber what it is to-day. The shire-knights of mediæval times, before the borough members had become a power, bore the burden of debate, of legislation and of government in the assembly at Westminster. Of the mediæval shire-knights, Walpole and his brother squires were, in the eighteenth century, the political descendants. As little to the former as to the latter, or, as in a still less degree, to the reputed father of the House of Commons, Simon Montfort himself, did it probably occur, that the House ought to be a really representative body, or that its composition should be decided by the votes of its constituents and not by the nominations of the great noblemen, who throughout the eighteenth century controlled it and whose influence was abridged, rather than destroyed, by the first of the Reform Acts, that of 1832, giving the franchise to the £10 householders. To Walpole, too, belongs the distinction of having crowned the edifice of party government, in the sense in which that polity is understood to-day. This statesman left no means untried to make himself the master of the House of Commons, and he lived to see that assembly become the ruler of the country. He had imparted to the king's special advisers, the cabinet ministers, the character of a Committee of the Commons for controlling its affairs. This completeness of Walpole's parliamentary and party organisation, together with the personal trust or favour extended to him by the sovereign, and the general confidence reposed in him by the constituencies, explains the parliamentary opposition to Walpole which has been already seen to constitute a special feature in the reign of George I.

Walpole, too, like many other great ministers since

his day, regarded with jealousy all actual or possible rivals to his power. He refused the overtures of conciliation or co-operation thrown out by Bolingbroke. He would never hold out the right hand to Pulteney, his former friend, whom he at last converted into his opponent. Thus, at the same time that, under George I., cabinet government controlled the House of Commons and ruled the country, there grew out of Walpole's success and the chagrin which it excited with the many able men who now separated themselves from him, a body of rival politicians, more and more steadily disciplined for office, and more and more avowedly ready at any moment to displace the men in power, and to assume all the duties of administration. Something, indeed, of a kindred character, preparing the way for what Pulteney was to accomplish later, had been achieved under the reign of Charles II. The growth of the county party, between 1660 and 1685, as a check upon the court and its management, foreshadowed to some extent the establishment of a parliamentary opposition under Pulteney, in 1725. In another respect, too, the politics of the early Georgian era resemble and even may be said to have set the fashion to those of a later day. *The Craftsman,* entirely inspired and partially written by Bolingbroke, was the earliest daily newspaper published in England; it was exclusively the organ of Walpole's opponents; its success is the first great proof of the power of a freed press that had become possible only now that the censorship had been abolished under William III. But Pulteney and his friends, while criticising and thwarting the Whig government of George I., carefully avoided identifying themselves with the Tories. They spoke of themselves as "pa-

triots" without any qualifying epithet. By that name they were known till the days of the elder Pitt, Lord Chatham. Two mutually opposed characteristics mark the political history of the first two Georges. The first is the non-existence, during a great part of that period, of two hostile political camps; the second is the ministerial changes made necessary by Walpole's retirement in 1742. "*Nil admirari*" and "*Quieta non movere*" are the well-worn phrases, which might be taken as descriptive mottoes for the character and career of the first of the long line of representatively British statesmen. Lord Melbourne's favourite question, "Why can't you let it alone?" might have been also in the lips of Walpole, when a more heroic or sensational policy was asked for by his colleagues, by his opponents or by the country. Throughout he set himself against every form of policy, domestic or foreign, which could shorten or disturb the repose demanded by all the national interests, during the century that followed the Revolution of 1688. The primary condition of the recuperation which throughout Walpole's time seemed the first national necessity, was the subsidence of the Jacobite agitation. Next to that end, it was essential for the House of Commons to be controlled by men pledged to support the new Hanoverian dynasty. Walpole himself has been accused of Jacobite intrigue. Against such movements he took the best precautions, when he established cabinet supremacy over the House of Commons, and when of that body he made himself the master. The real parliamentary opposition at this time was not between Walpole and Pulteney, for both these men titularly belonged to the Whig party, but between Walpole and the Jacob-

ite sections; these were always ready to intrigue for a Stuart restoration. The state of suspended animation, in which during this period of the eighteenth century parties existed, is shown by the facts that, when Walpole's impending retirement was known, the Tories made no serious attempt to replace their Whig opponents, and that after Walpole withdrew, a mixed ministry of nearly the same complexion as before was formed under Wilmington. While he remained an active political force, Walpole's ability and influence with the king stimulated opposition against him. The only real differences, however, were personal, not political. Wilmington, who, on Walpole's retirement in 1742, became premier, a man of no capacity, had hoped to supersede Walpole at a much earlier date. When Walpole's withdrawal gave him the desired opportunity, he found he had no option but to retain several members of his predecessor's cabinet, and to follow Walpole himself in refusing to coalesce with Bolingbroke or with any of Bolingbroke's friends. Removal from office did not mean, in Walpole's case, cessation of power. The report of the Committee into the late minister's conduct, instead of crushing or discrediting him, really rehabilitated him. It also proved the strength of George II. Pulteney, now Lord Bath, and Sandys were Walpole's bitterest enemies on the ground of his imputed servile subjugation to the Hanoverian interest; yet after Walpole's day, Bath and Sandys became equally convinced champions of Hanoverian interests. Nor, any more than Walpole, did Wilmington dare to oppose the king's Hanoverian sympathies. The vote of pay for the 16,000 Hanoverian troops, maintained by George, remained in force under Wilmington as much as under Walpole. At

this moment, indeed, the principle alternately animating and dividing political groups or individuals was not one of statesmanship, but one arising out of the personal partialities of the sovereign. Under George II., the real motives, ruling the action or votes of rival politicians, arose from a desire to please or to thwart the monarch in his views concerning his native Hanover.

The Continental War, which Walpole had for a time averted, came under Pelham's premiership. The issues of that contest were naturally of interest to one who had come from the Electorship of Hanover to the British throne; they did not seem of any moment to England herself. The Emperor Charles VI. of Germany had been bent on securing, by the Pragmatic Sanction, his daughter's succession to the Austrian crown. A second Austrian claimant to the Austrian throne was the king of Spain, one of the Bourbon family, who boasted of being a descendant of Charles V. Such an increase of power by the Bourbons England was pledged to resist. Walpole himself recognized prevention to be necessary. With that view he aimed at an European Alliance against the Bourbons, including, with Austria and England, Hanover and Prussia. The last of these states was now ruled by Frederick II., who had lately succeeded to the command of a first-rate army and a full treasury. The Prussian king, in return for supporting the claim of Maria Theresa or her husband to the Austrian Succession, and maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction, stipulated for an enlargement of Prussia's Silesian frontier. The English policy now was to secure Maria Theresa's acceptance of the Prussian terms, namely, the surrender to Prussia of the Austrian possessions in Silesia. The cause of the Aus-

trian princess stirred the enthusiasm of England, as with the famous shout, "Let us die for our king," Maria Theresa had rallied the Hungarian people round the princess and her infant son. Walpole had always held the first interest of England to be peace. After his fall, the English ministry adopted the wishes of the English people, increased largely the army and navy and poured a large Anglo-Hanoverian force into the Low Countries. The English and Hanoverian troops appeared at a moment critical to the fortunes of Maria Theresa; the war from that moment became the struggle for supremacy between England and France. This was the campaign on which chiefly rests the military reputation of George II. On reaching the plain of Dettingen, the English troops found themselves in a position of perplexity and peril, when they were suddenly joined by the king and the Duke of Cumberland. George himself took command of the rear as the post of peril, directed the movements of all his army and occupied Dettingen on the other side of the river. "The French will soon run," were the words with which George encouraged his men, as he dismounted from his horse and placed himself at the head of the right wing. The prophecy was made good by the event. The Allied Forces of England, Hanover and Austria, which at first, on unexpectedly finding themselves hemmed in, had shown signs of panic, were quickly stayed. The presence and the language of the English king restored confidence. The victory that followed was recognized throughout Europe as due to the composure and judgment of the English monarch. The invading French force under Noailles withdrew beyond the Rhine. The war was henceforth carried on upon Austrian soil. Dettingen be-

came famous in history as the last battle in which an English king, with advantage to his country and honour to himself, took part. At home the administration of Wilmington had been replaced by the Pelhams. Carteret had retired from parliament as Earl Granville. The Coalition formed under Pelham had resulted in the "Broad Bottom" Government, with Henry Pelham as Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer. George II.'s victory at Dettingen happened just in time to restore, in 1743, some measure of strength and reputation to a tottering and unpopular Cabinet.

It seemed, indeed, as if the heroic spirit of Elizabethan enterprise might be revived in the last half of the eighteenth century, under the doughty monarch who on that June day of 1743 had, by his timely appearance on the banks of the Main, turned into triumph what threatened to be discomfiture and disgrace. Three years before, in 1740, Commodore Anson started on his voyage of discovery; after tempests and perils of all kinds, he rounded Cape Horn. With his little squadron of six vessels he reached and refitted at the island of San Juan Fernandez, off the Chili coast. Thence, in the year after Dettingen, he returned to England, bringing treasure with him of more than a quarter of a million in value.

To George II. must be ascribed something of the patriotic enthusiasm that marked the year 1744. The French minister, Cardinal Tencin, had planned an invasion of England with the object of the restoration of the Stuart line in the person of the Young Pretender. The whole nation rose in arms to repel the threatened attack. So great was the general enthusiasm that inn and lodging-house keepers would take no pay for the soldiers billeted upon them. The

French organizers of the movement hurriedly abandoned it, the enemies of England contrived to change the scene of the war from the English Channel to the Low Countries. There followed during 1745 and 1746 the attempt of the Young Pretender, his victory at Prestonpans and his discomfiture at Culloden. At home the English people and their government were preoccupied in the endeavour to ward off further attacks of the Pretender. After the Duke of Cumberland's crushing defeat of the rebels, the Prince was for five months in hiding and wandering in the Hebrides and the western mainland; from thence he escaped to Brittany. But the ministry still did not include the master spirit of the age in home and foreign politics—the elder Pitt, soon afterwards to become Lord Chatham. Now followed the first great struggle in home politics between the royal House of Hanover and the great Whig families under which the Revolution of 1688 had been accomplished.

To understand the general situation, and especially the relation, occupied by George II. towards political parties and their chiefs, one should first understand that, at the time now spoken of, nothing, that could even suggest the party organization of modern times, was known; any germs of these later arrangements that historic ingenuity might trace were kept in the embryonic stage by the events of the hour. The central figure of political and parliamentary interest during this period was William Pitt the elder, who had not yet become Lord Chatham. The Pelhams had already alienated from themselves many of their supporters and political friends by their resolve to bestow the ministerial vacancy caused by the ennoblement of Carteret, as Lord Granville, upon Pitt, who, though reputed to belong to the Whig connection, as chief

of the little group called the patriots, had really become an opposition leader, and as such enjoyed equal weight and popularity in the country. Acting under the influence of Lord Granville, of Lord Bath and one or two more, the king would not have Pitt in the ministry. Treating as an act of political mutiny the attempt to force Pitt upon him, the king entrusted to Lord Granville the task of forming a new administration. Sooner than any had anticipated, the sovereign found the latter unequal to the contest with the Whig party. Granville could not form a government. The Pelhams were recalled. Pitt was installed in office as vice-treasurer of Ireland, afterwards as paymaster of the forces. The net result of the transaction was disastrous to the royal prerogative and triumphantly successful to the statesman. Pitt, having become vice-treasurer of Ireland, and then paymaster of the forces, in the latter office confirmed and increased his national ascendency by declining the profits that were the traditional perquisites of the post, and who thus won for himself in the national opinion a title to the post of chief Minister of the Crown. Such is the first serious reverse inflicted during the Hanoverian period on the royal power. The time, however, was still distant when the history of political parties should cease to be a series of chiefly personal competitions for the royal favour, or when the first object of a political organization should be to identify itself with the resolve or wish of the majority of the nation.

The militant patriotism of the king in his efforts politically to endow England with an imperial system was helped forward by the losses which France sustained during his reign. In the Low Countries

defeat after defeat had fallen upon the French arms. Now first began the fatal losses to the colonial powers of France. The French strongholds by land and sea were attacked by October of 1748. George II. had the satisfaction of witnessing the success of the policy of peaceful arbitration instead of war to the knife, which had been long since urged upon the country. The Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle signalised the success of Walpole's earlier peace policy. Between the period following the death of Walpole and that preceding the more determined efforts made by France to regain her power in Europe and the year 1754, the condition of Europe and England was one of profound tranquillity. The government was further helped by the great increase in national trade and commerce of every sort, which belonged to that epoch.

Meanwhile, other than political reforms had brought some relief to the necessities of the Stuart dispensation. The chief interest of the period now under review arises from the condition of the lower classes. The divorce between the Nation and the Church—rather it should be said the lack of any principle of religious life in the body politic, coinciding, as these tendencies did, with the growth of infidelity in France (a prelude to the revolution of 1793)—had brought the English masses into a condition of practical heathenism. This was the moment when the Wesleys and Whitefield appeared upon the scene to spiritually revolutionise the country. As in the sixteenth century, the quickening of religious life proved also a preparation for a civil and political renaissance. From this time forth, the nation had its own political existence apart from the activities and factions of parliament. This movement had begun when Pulteney took his place as leader of a par-

liamentary opposition to ministers. The most decisive sign of the people's claim to assert a political authority, independent of and perhaps overriding its parliamentary representation, was supplied by the rise of Pitt to the foremost place.

During that period, other signs, pointing in the same direction, were not wanting. Thus, in 1752, a man named Murray, charged with a breach of parliamentary privilege, and called to the Bar of the House of Commons, refused to kneel to the House and was sent to prison, but on his way there he was conducted by a triumphant procession of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The world seemed in a state of universal war. The chief clauses in some of the most recent international Treaties were unsettled. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, had been arranged without the limits of the American colonies of England being defined. England began to realise the importance of the struggle beyond the seas, to which she was committed by her Imperial policy. The spirit of George II. animated growing numbers of his subjects. Wherever war was waged, the struggle was for supremacy in worlds comparatively new. The colonial and foreign empire of Great Britain differs from all its predecessors in that it has ever been the realised expression of the ambition and the will, not of individuals, but of the nation. Early in the second half of the reign of George II. died the premier, Henry Pelham. He was succeeded as first Minister by the Duke of Newcastle, with, as manager of the House of Commons, that Sir Thomas Robinson of whom the elder Pitt said to his contemporary Fox, "The Duke of Newcastle might as well send his jack-boots to lead us." Yet, though the master spirits in parliamentary life were not

many, the growing and patriotic enthusiasm of the nation found all the parliamentary utterance needed for the accomplishment of its objects. George II. chafed at the appearance of dictation to him by his ministers or by his people. Generally, however, he was in sympathy with the rising patriotic and imperial sentiment of the country. As already mentioned, once convinced of the national necessity of the step, he overcame his objection to the great commoner, the elder Pitt, and received him successively into the "Broad Bottom" Administration of Henry Pelham, 1746, and into the Duke of Devonshire's Cabinet of 1754–6–7, nominally as Secretary of State, but really as the ruling spirit of the whole government. With Pitt's promotion to official power, the reaction, political not less than, as already seen, moral, social and religious, from the apathy and infidelity of the immediately preceding years, gathered fresh force, till it became an irresistible power carrying along with it king and ministers. This was the period when, to the great delight of George II. (in the spirit a sturdy campaigner to the last), the Bill was passed for reorganizing the Militia. By that measure able-bodied men from eighteen to thirty, a few ranks, professions and trades excepted, were chosen by ballot for five years' service. That organisation of the force, with certain modifications or additions in 1796 and 1799, remained practically in operation till the Cardwell reforms of 1872, when the Militia control was transferred from the lieutenants of counties to the War Office, and certain Militia regiments were attached to each brigade of infantry, both being under the command of the chief of the particular military district. While the national spirit was thus expressing itself and organising its re-

sources at home, England was recovering in India from the losses she had sustained at the hands of Dupleix and Labourdonnais. That restoration was due to the genius and victories of Clive, whose great work it was to retrieve the English position not only in the Carnatic but throughout India.

Across the Atlantic, national enterprises of equal magnitude were in successful progress. In America, the French had long been endeavouring to connect, by the stream of the Mississippi, their Canadian Colonies with those upon the Gulf of Mexico. That effort, if successful, would have restricted English influence and trade to the narrow tract of country between the Alleghany mountains and the sea. That policy of the French, if carried out, would have intercepted English intercourse with the Indians, and would have effectually barred the extension of English influence towards the West. To remove the French arms and influence from the valley of the Ohio was the aim of English tactics and diplomacy, from 1754 onwards. It was accomplished only with gradual and with fluctuating success. General Braddock's army, sent out to operate against the chief fort on the Ohio, fell into an ambush. This proved only the beginning of failures and miscarriages that exasperated the national mind, and boded ill for the continuance of the Newcastle Administration. Next year, 1755, Robinson was removed from the Ministry. In his place, Henry Fox became Secretary of State. Still these changes were not enough to satisfy the country, now further embittered against the Administration by the miscarriage of Admiral Byng's expedition, by the loss of Minorca to the French, and by the taunts which caricaturists of the pen or pencil, French and English, levelled without ceasing at a

nation discredited or jeopardised by fatuous and disastrous management of its affairs. It was not till some time later (March, 1757) that was finally formed the strong and famous Administration of the elder Pitt, in which Henry Fox as Paymaster-General had a place. All this time the education and capacity of the country for self-government were visibly advancing. By none were these signs observed more closely or more quickly than by the king, whose often quoted remark, "You have taught me to look for the sense of my subjects in another place than the House of Commons," is perhaps the first indication of the display by an English sovereign of a consciousness that a new era had commenced in English public life. As the reign of George II. advanced, the influence of Pitt with the king and the country steadily increased. In parliament his ascendency was unchallenged. In the country he was the one great man to whom the nation instinctively turned. He seemed, indeed, to be nearly the indispensable man and necessary member of any cabinet.

In the character of George II. there was little more of nobility, dignity or statesmanship than in that of his predecessor. Both father and son infinitely preferred their native Hanover to their acquired England. Both were surrounded by compliant and corrupt courtiers. Both found pleasure in the society of more or less unattractive and avaricious mistresses. In the second George, however, were displayed a certain kingliness, a certain pride of English patriotism, occasionally an active sympathy with the better aspects and tendencies of the age in which he lived, and of the country in which he ruled. The beginning, therefore, of the revival and of the purification of English feeling must be

ascribed to this reign; as a further development of these movements belonged conspicuously to the reign of George III.

Socially and morally, if not in all respects politically, the two reigns belong to the same epoch. As little as George I. did George II. and his ministers show any sense of the home necessities of the English people. The royal speeches at the beginning and the end of the parliamentary session are reviews of the international or diplomatic relations of England with foreign countries, from the point of view of ambassadors and chancellors. No parliamentary measures for the benefit of the English people, as a whole, are announced or even hinted at. The characteristic of the age in every department of existence is an intense and sustained artificiality. The polished affectation of manners in the drawing-room, in coffee-houses and in fashionable promenades was the external reflection of the lack of all genuineness and earnestness, of anything like a real interest in matters of serious concern, social or political, common to all classes.

The one exception to this rule of artificiality and affectation is presented by the wife of George II. Caroline of Anspach, daughter of the Margrave of Brandenburg. In her youth she had possessed beauty. Throughout her life, her face and manner retained the quality of sweetness, the most winning and enduring of feminine charms. The feud between father and son continued throughout the life of the first George. Its influences were seen after his death. When the new George II., on being apprised by Sir Robert Walpole of the death of his father, hurled at the minister his famous "Dat is one big lie," he sent for Spencer Compton as his adviser in

the place of Walpole. Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1715, had been a favourite with the then Prince of Wales and heir apparent, when, in opposition to his reigning father, he kept his court at Leicester Fields or at the Lodge at Richmond Park. Compton, according to the familiar story, knew so little of the duties he was now called on to discharge, as to be unable without help to draw up the form of declaration for the king's Privy Council, and to have called in the services, good-naturedly given, of the statesman whom he was to displace. Queen Caroline used her boundless influence over the new sovereign to induce him to retain or recall Walpole, who almost at once resumed his old places as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. According to one account, Caroline ascertained from Walpole the intention of Compton to reduce the allowance then received by her. Another story has it that she successfully appealed to the stupidity of her husband, by impressing on him the assurance that Walpole was the one minister whom he could trust to raise for him what he needed.

The truth is, Walpole was the first statesman not only to consolidate the power of the House of Commons, but above all things to establish the modern system of finance. He was at once the single minister capable of frustrating foreign intrigues against England, and the sole financier uniting aptitude for and knowledge of his subjects, with insight into the prejudices and capacities of his countrymen. Hence his qualifications for retrieving the pecuniary situation. Walpole's great achievement of making the popular chamber the supreme depository of political power was to some extent promoted by the remarka-

ble qualities combined in the person of the well-known Speaker of the House of Commons under George II. —Speaker Onslow. Not indeed that this notable president of the assemblage used his authority and opportunities in the interests of the statesman who had mainly secured his election to the Chair. Onslow himself was chiefly remarkable for his penetrating insight into the feelings and sentiments of the constituencies and the consummate judgment which enabled him to keep the House in touch with that popular sentiment. As a consequence, the Chamber of the Elective Legislature, while being politically strengthened by Walpole's policy, received a steadily increasing accession of moral influence from Onslow's chairmanship. It thus made a real advance in domestic as well as in foreign opinion.

Under George II., even the failings and foibles of his famous minister became instruments of national service, as has happened in the case of many other great statesmen since his time. Walpole could boast of being exempt from a certain jealousy of commanding merit in his political associates. That weakness lost him valuable friends and colleagues. It was also an agent in advancing or completing the system of party government under which England has lived ever since Walpole's day. As has been already said, the influence of party upon parliamentary combinations and tactics showed itself, during the reign of George II., in quickening and directing the rivalry for the sovereign's favour of individual politicians and their immediate followers. When once the seat of parliamentary authority was transferred from the hereditary to the elective chamber; when, as since Walpole's day has ever been the case, the peers lost the power of influencing by their vote the fate of

administrations; the object and ambition of parties underwent a corresponding change. Not the ear and favour of the monarch, or of his titled advisers in the Gilded Chamber, but the command of a majority in the representative, and therefore authoritative, assembly, was the point at which political leaders aimed. Walpole's former colleague and friend Pulteney, who before his death was created Lord Bath, is the first man who saw in the opportunities and duties of the political connection which might for the time be out of office a function as definite, as useful and almost as powerful as that discharged by the men who held office. The personal favour of royalty, exercised by George, at the instance of his queen Caroline, maintained Walpole in place. Walpole's idiosyncrasies, by forcing Pulteney into political antagonism to him, gave to that brilliant man the chance of becoming the first great leader of a parliamentary opposition. More than this, Pulteney for all time deepened popular interest in politics by his notable example of the way in which extra-parliamentary agencies might help to decide the fate of parliamentary organizations. The name of the *Craftsman,* as the earliest of daily prints, has already been mentioned. The genius of Bolingbroke, of Swift and of others, reinforcing the genius of Pulteney, identified this newspaper with much of what was brightest and most beneficent in the intellect of the day.

A strong case might easily be made out against the belief that party government, as it has been developed in England, is of eternal duration, or is even absolutely indispensable to a parliamentary system. So far, however, as experience goes, the practical alternative to the party system has been a régime

of backstairs influence, of bedchamber intrigue, the policy described by a famous Frenchman as that of "petticoats and alcoves." Such was the dispensation under which Mrs. Masham and Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, were pitted against each other, or when Walpole was officially re-established through the influence of Queen Caroline, or perhaps also of a lady of the court not properly to be named together with the queen of George II.* The supremacy of the Elective Chamber, the organization of party;—such are the two chief political institutions growing out of the reign of George II., or of the personal influences by which he was surrounded. As a consequence of these combined agencies, a political career, in the sense in which that political expression is used among us at the present day, became first under George II. a possibility within the reach of all who, with certain necessary advantages of birth or fortune, cared for it, to an extent and in a degree very different from that in which, before this king, a parliamentary career in England can be said to have existed.

Abroad, George II. was believed to have influenced the politics and legislation of his time more deeply than many other sovereigns as ambitious as, and abler than, himself had found the means of doing. The German humorists referred to by a popular historian of that epoch and a charming writer† represent Walpole in the year 1733 escaping from parliament, covered with an old cloak, and thus disguised and loudly shouting "Liberty" and "No Excise," sneak-

* Justin McCarthy's *History of the Four Georges*, Vol. I., p. 174.

† Justin McCarthy's *History of the Four Georges*, Vol. I., p. 420.

ing to St. James' Palace, there to find the king preparing for war by putting on the hat he wore at Malplaquet, and preparing the sword which he had first drawn at Oudenarde. Walpole's Excise Scheme specifically provided for transferring the taxes on tobacco and wine from the Customs to the Excise; instead, that is, of a duty levied at the port, a tax was to be payable on the quantity made at the manufactory. As seen by foreign eyes, the real object of this measure was to place the king in possession of a permanent revenue so large as to allow him to increase his military power as he pleased. Before the measure now spoken of was introduced an excise on salt had been passed by a small majority. It yielded only two-thirds of the sum required in order to enable the exchequer to gratify the country gentlemen by the reduction of the Land Tax. Consequently the general Excise Bill followed. Walpole recognized his mistake in time; he bowed before the tempest of unpopularity which the proposal excited, and told his royal master that the cost of passing the detested measure would be his own crown. Upon this, the king gave way; the Excise Bill was abandoned; not, however, before the Opposition had been able to excite against Walpole personally a storm of national feeling, that within ten years was to cause that statesman's retirement. The confidence of the king, and especially of the queen, enjoyed by Walpole as an individual rather than as a party leader, added personal bitterness to the political feeling against him. Moreover, Walpole's followers in both Houses were declining daily both in numbers and in influence. Neither Hardwick nor Newcastle shared his conviction that the chief interest of England was peace; Sir William Young, who remained loyal to his

chief, was a man of ability but of no reputation; the Duke of Argyle had stripped himself of all the offices he had held. Nor did Walpole himself do what might have been expected towards disarming his enemies. He gave way to his opponents on several points on which concession could not conciliate foes and must impart to friends a sense of weakness. During the October of 1740 his opponents at length defeated his nomination of the ministerial candidate for chairman of committees. Shortly afterwards the Chippenham election petition placed the minister in a minority in the popular chamber. Within a few days of that defeat, Walpole, who had, more than any one of his age, foreseen and promoted the supremacy of the House of Commons in the Constitution, retired, with the title of Lord Orford, into private life. With the disappearance of the man, who might be called the eighteenth century founder of party government, English politics for the time ceased to involve any great public principles; they became and remained during the reign of George II. a wrangle and a rivalry between men, who thought of the State and public good only as it affected themselves. Within twenty years of his great minister's withdrawal, passed away also the king himself. George II. had no claim to be considered a great king, any more than he was a great statesman. He was, however, a representative product of his period; he was really wiser and shrewder than he looked; especially did he bequeath to his successors the tradition of sagacity or discernment expressed in the homely words that the simplest of his people could understand, and that his successors on the throne have not disdained to imitate. One of these pithy, pungent and humorous ut-

terances will give a fair idea of many, equally good, it may be, but mostly forgotten, because unrecorded, sayings. When told that his favourite general, Sir John Wolfe, was mad, the royal rejoinder was at least as apt as it was ready. "I wish he would bite some of the other generals." Apart from such personal traits as these, George the Second made a contribution to, and exercised an influence upon, the national and provincial life of his realm so marked and enduring as to call for special mention here. Even then, London had begun to absorb the social vitality of provincial towns. George II. did all that a king's example and encouragement could effect to revive the prosperity of the local capitals both in the east and west of England. Much of the fashionable vogue enjoyed by Bath in the eighteenth century was due to its patronage by the king, as well as by those who took the king as their social exemplar. While the organization of society, out of London, was thus locally assisted by the court, the politico-social usage which has since identified the season in town with the parliamentary session at Westminster became more visibly confirmed and generally recognized than had yet been the case. Then also for the first time the adjournments of the House of Commons in the interests of pleasure or sport seemed to have become general. Epsom Races, as an institution, date from Charles II. The Jockey Club came into existence under George II. The full recognition by parliament of Derby Day was reserved for a much later period. But that the pursuit of pleasure held its own under George II., against the allurements of politics, may be inferred from the fact that the debate on a Jewish Relief Bill was delayed, especially to enable legislators, elective

and hereditary, to see the actor Delabelle in the part of *Othello* at Drury Lane. One more evidence of the influence upon the public opinion of his realm, exercised by George II., may be seen in the fact that, to the stolid nonchalance with which he treated Stuart alarmism and intrigue, is due the circumstance that Jacobitism, with all the popish intrigue associated with it, became before the reign of that king was over scarcely less extinct than the cry for repeal soon after the disappearance of O'Connell, or that for Home Rule shortly after the death of Mr. Gladstone.

On the social history of his reign, the second of the Hanoverian sovereigns exercised little of perceptible influence. The eventfulness of the period, however, was not political only. William III. had brought with him from Holland his taste for the national spirit that still bears his country's name, though the accounts of his excessive addiction either to tobacco or to hollands were, of course, ridiculously exaggerated. On William's arrival in his kingdom, the chief drink of the English lower or even middle classes was malt liquor, beer or ale. Of that beverage, the original authorities quoted by Mr. W. E. H. Lecky,* calculate that in the one year 1688, 12,400,000 barrels were distributed among a population of 5,000,000. That, too, was the year in which the British distilleries began to constitute an important feature of the national trade. The brandies imported from France were too costly for general consumption. After William III. had been on the throne a twelvemonth, the English distilling trade was encouraged by the prohibition of the importa-

* *Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I., pp. 478–9.

tion of foreign spirits. The distilling business, on payment of a fixed duty, was open to all who cared to engage in it. That was a new development of the great English drink interest which thereafter was to become one of the most powerful political as well as social factors under the early Hanoverian sovereigns as under all their nineteenth century successors. Towards the close of George III.'s reign, gin-drinking, as Hogarth's terrible cartoons show, had become the mania and the curse of the working classes. Before another eight years had passed, the British spirits distilled had increased from 3,601,000 gallons in 1727 to 5,394,000 gallons. The Middlesex Grand Jury in its annual presentments alleged alcohol especially in the form of gin to be the chief cause of metropolitan poverty, crime and disease. At last the havoc and the impunity of an abuse so flaunting, so degrading, so ruinous to mind, body and estate, and so destructive of the best qualities and traditions of the nation, excited outbursts of popular disgust and anger. Queen Caroline, to whom Walpole owed so much, impressed upon the great minister that something must be done. With the support of the government in 1736, Sir James Jekyll carried a measure placing a duty of twenty shillings a gallon on all alcoholic liquors and a tax of £50 a year upon the small retailers of such liquors. But national opinion was not ripe for repressive agencies so severe as these. Walpole's predictions were verified. A secret retail traffic, which it proved impossible to put down, sprang up; meanwhile all kinds of crime and immorality as well as of disease, often beyond the reach of medicine, directly attributable to the excessive consumption of spirits, called forth in 1743 another measure not less inoperative apparently than

its predecessor. In 1751, a new kind of drunkenness, unknown to our ancestors, was referred by Fielding to gin, the principal sustenance (if it may be called so) of 1,000,000 inhabitants of London. In the same 1751, the London consumption of spirits was 11,000,000 gallons. The increase of population had become appreciably checked. "Those accursed spirituous liquors," wrote Bishop Benson,* "which, to the shame of our government, it is so easy to procure, have changed the very nature of the people; they will, if continued to be drunk, destroy the race." †

The latter half of the eighteenth century, under the premiership of Henry Pelham, witnessed, during the period immediately following the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, some very important efforts at domestic reform. A new method of reckoning time was introduced into the calendar. The interest on the National Debt was reduced. A memorable Licensing Act was passed. By the New Style, originated in a motion of Lord Chesterfield, the year, which had hitherto begun on the 25th of March, was (in 1652 and thereafter) to begin on January 1; between the 2d and 14th of September, eleven days were to be suppressed, but the government quarter-days were for the present to remain, January 5, April 5, July 5, October 10; the financial alteration, effected perhaps some two or three years before the other alterations, consisted of a reduction to 3 per cent. of the interest on the National Debt and, a little later, of the consolidation of fourteen different kinds of stocks into five. By the Licensing Act of 1751 the trade between unlicensed distillers and vendors was declared

* Lecky, *Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I., p. 481.
† Fraser's *Life of Berkeley*, pp. 322, 323, quoted by Mr. Lecky, p. 481.

illegal; debt drinks under a pound were made irrecoverable by legal process; and a property qualification, in order to ensure respectability, of a £10 rental was imposed on traders in drink. In 1753–4, the local magistrates were instructed to issue fewer drink licenses. This legislation, however, proved itself to be in advance of contemporary opinion. Some diseases, directly traceable to drink, showed, indeed, a decrease, especially dropsy, which from 1718 and onwards had been steadily growing. But of the morally reforming agencies which (and especially among them the encouragement of thrift) have helped in our time to create a sentiment favourable to temperance, little or nothing was yet known. The clubs, which among the better-to-do classes have, in more recent years, done more than any other single agency to send tippling out of fashion, did not during most of the eighteenth century exist upon anything like their present popular and comprehensive basis. Societies for the organization and promotion of thrift among the lower orders scarcely yet existed. The very physicians who protested against the abuse of strong spirits, as the sure cause of the most terrible forms of disease, had not themselves mastered the relations between spirituous and fermented drinks and the physical needs of the population. The watchmen who after nightfall pounced upon persons of either sex reeling home through the streets, treated those whom they arrested in so brutal a fashion, and the cells and round-houses to which the intoxicated wretches were consigned were the scene of such atrocious cruelties, that Horace Walpole, expressing in his letters and diary the opinion of George II. and of his court, declared not only the remedy to be worse than the disease, but the unwise or savage ef-

forts at prevention of the vice to operate as direct encouragements to it.

Notwithstanding these failures, or miscarriages, absolute or comparative, the reign of George II., penetrated, as in some directions it was, by the beneficent influence of his good genius Queen Caroline, and particularly the period of that reign covered by the Pelham Administration, marks the beginning of that era of social reform which, conducted in a more judicious and far-seeing fashion by statesmen better trained for their work, or guided by a public opinion more enlightened, was to be the bright feature in the history of succeeding sovereigns. Wrecking on the high seas, the inveterate scandal of the Cornish fishermen, and not sufficiently condemned by the Cornish gentry, was severely dealt with. Already in the reign of Anne, any act by which a ship should be destroyed had been declared a felony. That law was made perpetual and was enforced by fresh sanctions under George I. Under George II., parliament, guided by Henry Pelham, the Premier, made the plunder of a wrecked or distressed vessel a crime punishable by death. One social reform, personally favoured if not promoted by George II., was not only passed but proved successful while Henry Pelham was prime minister. Such was Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, long imperatively demanded by the Fleet marriages, one of the most curious social scandals of the eighteenth century. Under the Canon Law, then in force in England, the consent of the contracting parties, when followed by cohabitation, constituted a valid marriage. Such marriages could be celebrated by a priest at any time or place, practically without registration, without license, without consent of parents or guardians. Stamped licenses

were, indeed, nominally required by law, but the want of them did not invalidate the marriage contract; it was only punished, if at all, as a fraud upon the revenue. A "Fleet parson" was attached to most public-houses or eating-rooms on the City side of Temple Bar. In the West End, a man named Keith, in Curzon Street, did a thriving business in uniting generally ill-matched couples, many of whom had not known each other more than a week, or even more than a few hours. All classes of society were liable to be affected by these matrimonial usages. It was at a Fleet marriage that the Duke of Hamilton married the lovely Gunning with a ring wrenched off the curtain; that the father of Charles James Fox married the Duke of Richmond's daughter; that the poet Churchill took to himself a partner, who did something to ensure his lifelong misery. It was the "Fleet parson" who tied the knot between sailors just discharged from their ships in the port and intent only on the amours of Jack ashore. By legislation of William III. and succeeding reigns, these marriages were declared illegal and often punished by severe fines. But nothing was really done to check the abuse till in 1753 Lord Hardwicke's Act provided that all weddings except those of Jews and Quakers should be celebrated by a priest in orders, and that, too, either after the publication of the marriage banns on three successive Sundays, or on the grant of a license from Doctors' Commons, or some surrogate. In any other place than the parish church, a marriage to be legal required a special license,—then as now a costly luxury to be procured only from the Archbishop of Canterbury direct. Any marriage that did not comply with the conditions now enumerated was illegal and null; the celebrant

of the illegal rite was liable to transportation. The importance of the intervention, by Lord Hardwicke's Law, of the State, in those arrangements of social life, hitherto regulated entirely by the Church, was great in itself. Later legislative results, whose principle it contains and which it alone has rendered possible, justify the view that the reign of George II. marks, by virtue of this single measure, a new era in the secular legislation and in the social life of England. Up to the eighteenth century, the right to determine the conditions of a valid marriage was held in England to belong to the Church alone, but the law of Scotland was different. A marriage satisfying these conditions, once consummated, was held by the Church to be indissoluble, for reasons and upon grounds far higher than those of social convenience or happiness, with which, according to the ecclesiastical view, marriage was but incidentally concerned. The acceptance by the Legislature of Lord Hardwicke's legislation on a subject previously reserved to the ecclesiastical authorities marked the earliest successful assertion of the pretensions of the State to override or to regulate conformably to national expediency the most momentous, the most far-reaching, as well as the most mystical of all religious ordinances. Marriages had, indeed, already in 1695 been subject to a tax varying between £50 in the case of a duke, and two shillings and sixpence in the case of a common person. Some thirty years after the Hardwicke Act, marriages were again taxed; after that date, the Hardwicke precedent was periodically followed, and marriage legislation, at no very long intervals, became frequent. Another Marriage Act, further affecting the special arrangements of English life, was passed under entirely a nineteenth century

sovereign, *i.e.,* William IV., 1835. That measure legitimatised certain marriages hitherto within the prohibited degrees, but prohibited the wedding by a brother-in-law of his dead wife's sister. The real supplement to Lord Hardwicke's Act, directed first at the Fleet and other irregular marriages in 1752, was the Marriage Amendment Act of 1840–56, promoted in no small degree by Charles Reade's powerful novel *Man and Wife,* which aimed at suppressing the irregular marriages contracted just over the Scottish Border at Gretna Green and in Scotland itself. Subsequent epochs in the history of English matrimonial legislation may hereafter be mentioned in chapters dealing with the sovereign in whose reign they have occurred. Here it is enough to say that the existing machinery for the unmaking of marriages, the establishment of what has since become the Divorce Division of the High Court of Justice, was the work of 1857, rather more, that is, than a century after the assertion of the great principle underlying Lord Hardwicke's Law, and about fifty years subsequent to the passing of the Acts that legalised marriages in Dissenting chapels or before a registrar.

As, under an earlier king than George II., public opinion would not have been ripe for the various social reforms, the most important of whose number have here been enumerated, so Henry Pelham was the earliest of English prime ministers fitted by his talents, his tastes and his opportunities to be the premier in a period of social advance. Yet though Walpole did not himself carry such a measure as the Act now referred to, his administration was the necessary period of preparation for the attention, successfully given after his fall, to the several non-political questions, in which he took no personal in-

terest. The establishment of the Hanoverian succession, the suppression of popery and despotism, the prolongation of tranquillity, prosperity, content and confidence at home;—these were all indispensable to the age of domestic improvement on which, with George II.'s choice of Pelham as Walpole's successor, the country entered, and which conditions were requisite to whatever good work may be associated with Pelham's name. At Eton, Walpole had for his contemporary and rival his most gifted opponent in later years, Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke. Few contrasts could be more instructive or more characteristically suggestive of the traditional temper of English public opinion than the career, the conduct and the qualities of these two most famous figures in the reign of George II. Walpole's early ambition had been foiled and, as it seemed at the time, frustrated for ever, by his early mortifications, culminating in his political imprisonment. In the face of the bitterest lifelong opposition, by the exercise of his own unaided talents, and by the consummate mastery which he possessed over a disposition naturally irascible and jealous, Walpole rose gradually to the height of power; he maintained it to the end against the intrigues and attacks of the dazzling genius of Bolingbroke, as well as the moral aid which Bolingbroke received from the greater personal respectability, and the more than respectable political aptitude and resourcefulness of Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath)—the first great leader of a parliamentary opposition. Nor, in its contrast with that of Walpole, is the personality of Henry Pelham, George II.'s other great adviser, less important than that of Bolingbroke, or even of Walpole himself. During the nineteenth century cabinet government

has depended upon and been the organised expression of party opinion. During the eighteenth century the cabinet was the creation of the premier. Walpole, bold, open, steady, uniformly in good spirits, loved power so much as neither to forgive nor to tolerate a rival. Pelham, for the sake of power, was ready for its sake to submit to anything. Walpole was forgiving and conciliating to a fault; Pelham never forgave and dared not resent. Pelham was thought honest, until he was placed in power. Walpole was known to be honest when power had passed from him, and with rare dignity he accepted the unwelcome boon of retirement for which he never, like Bolingbroke, had proposed to sigh. To summarise in a few words the difference between the two first reigns of the Hanoverian dynasty, the reign of George I. was a continual effort of the constitutional party against the binding tradition and the dying struggles of political and religious despotism. The feature of George II. was a more decided advance in constitutional rights, powers and feeling. One great reason for this advance was that Walpole had made the nation commercial, so that in 1745 Jacobitism was already dead in England, and in Scotland was only kept feebly alive by the feudal feeling of the clans. If, as may be truly said to have been the case, the national spirit and public opinion of England were at their lowest during the early years of the Hanoverian dynasty under the unintellectual and tippling George I. and George II., yet gleams of promise often tried to break through the overcast social firmament. As years passed by and as the elder Pitt, Lord Chatham, became the guiding counsellor of his sovereign, signs increased of a coming reaction towards enlightenment, religion, culture,

education, patriotism and morality, which became observable in low and high places alike. The fulfilment of these omens for good and the gradual waking up of the nation under one who was, it may be, a narrow-minded and mistaken but who was certainly a well-meaning and conscientious sovereign, characterised the reign of George III. A brief glance at the personal influences of that monarch upon his subjects and of the influences transmitted by him to his successors as well as to their subjects, will nearly bring to a close the retrospective chapters of the present work. Here it is enough to say that the general conditions and sentiment of the period were singularly favourable to the attempt of the successor of George II. to realise in his own experience and person the conception of Bolingbroke's patriot king, and to re-establish the absolute monarchy of the autocratic but circumspect and observant Tudors or of the more despotic and less sagacious Stuarts. The state of things to which the coming reign introduces us was proved to be practically new. Even under the two preceding Georges, to a great extent as the result of their personal influence and management, the differences between the two great political connections of the State had become increasingly slighter, till at last Hanoverian and Jacobite replaced the outworn and unreal distinction between Whig and Tory. Under George III., as a demarcating line between political parties, the difference separating the Stuart Legitimists and the Hanoverian Constitutionalists became not less conventional and obsolete than had already proved to be the opposition between Whig and Tory, and the true struggle lay between the great aristocratic families on either side or between rival patrician clans on the same

side, such as that which subsequently cleft in twain the Whig party in 1817. English politics, as George III. found them and as he would have wished to keep them, was a lordly game wherein the players were the lordly houses, while the people were spectators only. The real questions at issue in every parliament were not, as in nineteenth century days, the measures to be introduced for promoting the good of the people, but the number of seats in the cabinet to be allocated to dukes, to earls and to the wearers of inferior coronets; whether his Grace of Bedford was to have all the places he claimed, or whether a few might be reserved for his Grace of Grafton. Later on in his reign there came to be something Homeric in the ordering of the details in the plan of political battle. Intrigue ceased to be the chief instrument of political victory and the selfish greed of the place-hunter had to give way to a nobler ambition, not only to serve the country, but to benefit humanity. Burke, Fox, Pitt;—men of such calibre as these are now the political protagonists. Their political conceptions, once put in action, worked not only for their country, but for the whole globe.

In other than political respects the reign of George III. coincided with the opening of a new and distinctively national epoch. In his court and in society generally, George III. merits the distinction of being the greatest personal influence for good which this century had seen. At St. James' or Windsor, demi-reps or lionesses went out of favour. In their place virtue became fashionable. Mrs. Clayton and Lady Sundon (born Dyves), Mrs. Clayton, the famous Duchess of Marlborough's favourite, were each of them ladies not entirely without what is called "a past." They were perfection itself in comparison

with the ugly mistresses whom George I. and II. imported with them from Hanover. Foreign influences and their representatives, indeed, under George III. ceased to occupy in the social polity of England the place which under preceding kings had during several centuries been filled by them. The English prejudices, however well or ill grounded, against foreign fashions and foreigners of whichever sex or of whatever social degree, had long, if not always, been inveterate and general. The sentiment first perhaps actively asserted itself when, under the Tudors, England first assumed an Imperial character. Elizabeth despised foreigners. Nor was the national mind ever more highly pitched than under her reign. James I. renewed the social connections of England with foreign nations, especially with France. An influx of fresh corruptions followed, which, however, ceased under Cromwell, under whom foreign connections were broken off. It was, indeed, quite as much the anti-French barrier interposed by Cromwell's policy, as the separating influences of Puritan theology, which were instrumental in working the elevation of the national character that took place during the era of the Protectorate. If the cosmopolitanism, favoured under the second Charles, was fertile alike in fascinations and corruptions, the tide of Gallic influence, social or religious, was effectually stemmed under Anne. The ascendency of the High Church Party favoured by that sovereign coincided with a deepening of the English distrust of Roman Catholic rites, especially of compulsory confession, as too often involving something scarcely distinguishable from the regulation of profligacy by tariff. Under the third Stuart, Sedley, Lord Rochester, was a court favourite, and

might have been Laureate. Under the fifth and last Stuart, Anne, Rochester would have been locked up by the watchman. This notwithstanding it was the age of Anne, in which Thackeray can describe Addison as reeling home after dinner in the court suburb;* while the sovereign herself complained of her minister Harley as coming to her after dinner, troublesome, impudent and drunk. Such are the incidents of the period, justifying the description of it as ruled by a court, ordered with form but without dignity, by a parliament full of political or religious partisanship without sincerity or without substance. The long peace following Marlborough's victories and the promotion of Paris to the position of the pleasure capital of the world again favoured French corrupting influences. France, or rather its capital, became the fashionable model for Europe. Never was religion in the western world at a lower ebb than during this period. A happy exception was that Englishman who in those days made the grand tour, and who did not bring back from Paris and Rome a contempt of Christianity. Scarcely known was the fashionable woman whose literary favourite was any other writer than Voltaire. When George III. mounted the throne, imprisonment in the Bastille had already doomed Voltaire as a literary force; later on he was ordered to quit Paris and came to England. While in this country he wrote *Brutus,* and the *Philosophical Letters,* neither of which greatly extended his influence. Voltaire had first arrived in England in 1726, the year before the accession of George II. He was received with an interest, ad-

* See Esmond.

miration and enthusiasm which, to those who look back, may seem to have presaged the welcomes given to witty and clever foreigners who have come to England, commended not only by the brilliancy of, but by more than a suspicion of heterodoxy in, their writings, during the reign of the granddaughter of George III. Voltaire stayed in England just three years. Before he left there had begun the reaction in spiritual and intellectual fashions that had pretty well exhausted the appetite for even his biting satire and dazzling genius. Had his visit taken place some time later, when the grandson and successor of George II. sat on the throne, Voltaire would have found himself in a moral and intellectual atmosphere unfavourable to his literary influence; he would have found his epigrams received with silence; instead of the homage paid in 1726 by the most modish of English freethinkers to his presence and wit, which greeted him when first he crossed the Channel, Voltaire would have found English society indifferent to his gifts.

Before actually dealing with the period and the person of George III., it may be well in general terms to indicate one or two more of the most characteristic differences, social or political, domestic or international, between the two reigns. Not only, as already said, had Sir Robert Walpole extinguished Jacobitism as an English political force, but though some French ill-wishers of England might still indulge the dream of a Stuart restoration in England, the most sanguine of those Tories who not long since had taken Bolingbroke for their master, with Bishop Atterbury for his prophet, had long since abandoned all idea of active sympathy with the expelled dynasty. That change in the national temper, dur-

ing the reigns of the grandfather and the grandson, exercised an immediate influence upon international feeling, and consequently in some degree upon the international policy of England. The safety of the king's Hanoverian dominions required a vigorous war policy. British successes during the Seven Years' War against France, in India and America, were generally thought to enable England to dispense with acting further on the offensive against her nearest European neighbour. To disarm French hostility by reducing it to impotence seemed all that the situation required. In 1761, indeed, the Bourbon family compact presented a fresh difficulty. Because that was not made a case of war against Spain, the elder Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham (still accounted a Whig), resigned his seat in the cabinet. The Tory temper generally was pacific; the leading members of that party had long insisted that the war had given England all she wanted. During the decade between 1760–1770, that is, for the first ten years of George III., the family relationships of the political aristocracy, rather than questions of home or foreign policy, held the two great political connections of the country apart. As a consequence, settled governments, possible only when politics ceased to be an affair of family feuds, were for a time unknown. Between 1760 and 1770 was marked by no fewer administrations (eight) than during the years 1773–1783. Under George III. the disturbing and the short-lived family factions, as political combatants on either side, were to be replaced by a regular struggle between two organised parties, such as England has known ever since. Under the same king, first asserted itself, in something like the form seen upon so many later occasions, the English popular

dislike of the German Alliance, with, as in these earlier days was the case, the constant war subsidies which it involved. Once the object of the Seven Years' War had been gained, and for all she had done Britain had received territorial compensation throughout the globe, George III. and his Tory ministers personally controlled by him, made the disentangling of England from Germany and German associations the consistent feature and aim of their conservative policy.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OPENING OF THE HANOVERIAN ERA.

Landor's often quoted lines on the four earliest Hanoverian kings* have nothing to commend them but their epigrammatic smartness. Their ill-humour is not greater than their falsehood. George I. had many personal defects; his life was stained by the social vices of his age; but he did not lack the good sense to perceive that the first condition of successful sovereignty was loyalty to the State advisers whom, as the nominees of parliament and of the nation, he accepted. Neither his life nor his character contained anything to exalt or purify a nation, but a monarch who was instrumental in paving the way for a constitutional kingship, which the nation undoubtedly desired, and who honestly supported his shrewd and wise counsellors in their anti-Stuart, anti-French, and anti-papal policy, and who steadily subordinated himself to the statesmen trusted by the nation, can in no sense truthfully be called "vile." The occupation of the throne by a man like George III., of higher intellect, of corresponding ambition and of obstinate, if patriotic, self-will, might at such a period have been a national danger; it might have

* "George the First was always reckoned
Vile; still viler George the Second.
And what mortal ever heard
Any good of George the Third?
When George the Fourth to Heaven ascended,
Heaven be praised, the Georges ended."

jeopardised, perhaps ultimately undone, the Revolution settlement of 1688. Hallam, while discrediting the notion that England was at this period ripe for a republican government, admits the existence, during the earlier years of the eighteenth century, of a feeling in the country, which might on certain contingencies have become the nucleus of a movement hostile, if not fatal, to the British monarchy.

If, therefore, the truth of the immoral paradox that private vices are in some cases public benefits might ever be admitted, there would be something to be said in the defence, on constitutional grounds, of the soulless indifference of the early Georges to English State affairs, of their preoccupation by the bottle and by their court favourites and mistresses imported from Germany. The victory of parliamentary authority over the royal prerogative had been won before the accession of the last Stuart, Anne; that triumph might conceivably have been rendered null, under the first or the second Hanoverian king, if the strong points of George I. or George II. had not been uncompensated by weak ones. Neither of these sovereigns was a pattern for husbands; the later of them at least entertained for his wife feelings which, to the lasting good of the nation, expressed themselves on the consistent support given by him to the first, if not the greatest, of our English peace ministers. Between the two most commanding statesmen of the Georgian era, Pitt and Walpole, amid many differences, some general analogy may be traced. Both Pitt and Walpole were jealous of rivals to their power with king or people, and by that very jealousy exposed themselves to the charge of factiousness; the attitude of Pitt and of Walpole, respectively, towards the Stanhope and

Newcastle administration seemed in the same degree equally unworthy of these two great men. The charge of appropriating public money to his own use was brought, but never substantiated, against Walpole. Such an accusation could not conceivably have been made against Pitt. Both men were remunerated by the State at the high rate their great services deserved,—to nearly the same amount. Walpole enriched his sons out of the wealth showered on him by the country; he provided for all his needy relatives out of his official patronage. Pitt, with the same opportunities, scorned to do either of these things. Shrewd, easy, accessible, genial though cautious, never anything but unaffected and natural, Walpole was without any touch of the histrionic temper which coloured the whole character, attitude, and, amid his most splendid and stately declamation, the rhetoric of Pitt. Even in his famous "sugar-speech," he showed himself, as always, actor not less than orator. Neither statesman was wanting in patriotism; each displayed his love of country in very different shapes, and as fate decided under mutually opposite conditions. Walpole left his country prosperous. Pitt made her great. Pitt triumphantly appealed to the national enthusiasm which he inspired in order to save Britain from the perils with which his opponents or supplanters showed themselves unable to cope. Walpole, in his policy of averting, not meeting, danger, addressed himself, not less successfully, to the national regard for those material interests for which alone he greatly cared. Pitt, resembling in many respects the old Hebrew prophets, combined the parts of deliverer and reformer. Walpole was content to be little more than the interpreter of the common sense and the ordinary aspirations of

the great English middle-class with whom his sympathies lay. Pitt exalted, purified, even spiritualised the public life of his country. Walpole good-naturedly accepted that life as he found it; he left its tendencies to corruption perhaps even more inveterate than when he first became a power in the land.

Between the two first Georges and their chief political adviser, Walpole, some analogy might suggest itself. In his private life, his convivial tastes and conversational habits, Walpole may not have been much below, but certainly never dreamed of being above, the standard of his age. So, too, George I. and George II., by their personal habits and example, exercised, upon those around and beneath them, a depressing or corrupting, rather than an ennobling influence. Walpole accepted as he found it the political morality of his time. In the same way George I. and II. acquiesced and by their practice fell in with its social morality. On the throne the epoch of social regeneration was to begin with George III. The elder Pitt, during the reigns of the earlier Georges, set the same sort of example politically that was to be enforced socially by George III. The physical intrepidity of George II. presaged the political fearlessness and obstinacy of his successor. George II.'s intervention in war turned the fortunes of a campaign. The elder Pitt's eloquence and administrative genius fitted him to be the deliverer of his country.

George II.'s personal courage in the field helped, as has been already seen, to win the battles of Dettingen and Oudenarde; his stout and unwavering sympathy with his commanders and with the martial and lofty temper of his people were instrumental in beginning the revival of the historic spirit of

England that was to be signally matured and displayed under his successor. Had George II. placed his personal preferences above the estimate, formed by Walpole his minister, and Caroline his queen, of the national needs, the power of the Whig party as a great pacific instrument would never have been consolidated in his reign. Like all of his House, he was in constant need of, and seldom without some greed for, money; at the same time, he never exceeded the income fixed on him by parliament. Of all English sovereigns since Elizabeth he was the severest exemplar of royal thrift. Of his shrewd and homely wit some specimens have been given above. Other creditable qualities possessed by him were never in doubt; he was not less honest, sincere and frank than he was economical, ready to bow to his responsible minister and to anticipate or to divine and consider the as yet unuttered wish of those with whom he had to do. "Among many other royal virtues he possessed in an eminent degree those of justice, sincerity and truth";—such was Lord Chatham's estimate of George II. The merits of this sovereign, not specifically mentioned by the statesman, included a more systematic postponement than ever previous English king had shown of his own will to that of his ministry. Thus, when he himself was bent upon war, he allowed Walpole to persuade him against it. When his own shrewd sense inspired him with misgivings concerning the counsel of the most personally acceptable to him of all his statesmen—Carteret—he dismissed him with the same promptitude with which he ever gave a sense of duty precedence over inclination and accepted Newcastle as minister.

In Landor's epigram, already quoted, the height

of libellous absurdity is reached in the words about George III. Uniformly before, very frequently after, his accession, his subjects had heard not only good, but nothing that was not good, about that royal hope of the English people. For the joyful anticipations as well as sense of relief evoked by the coronation of the first Hanoverian prince who could also boast of being a true-born Englishman, English-bred and English-speaking, no later precedent could be found than the enthusiastic delight that exactly a hundred years earlier had welcomed Charles II. on his return from Breda. The evil life and low habits of the two first Hanoverian kings had kept many of the upper classes from their courts; if anything could have done so, those vices might have shaken the loyalty to the crown of the chosen depositaries of the sense of English respectability—the middle classes too. In all these respects, the contrast presented to his two predecessors by George III. seemed not more satisfactory than complete. As son, husband, father, —indeed in all the private relationships of his life, the conduct of George III. had been exemplary; his moral elevation above his age might be compared to that of Pitt, when summoned to power, not as a court nominee, but as a nation's choice. This king was the first Englishman of his age practically to recognize the truth that the English character of the eighteenth century remained what it had been made by the determining and creative influence of Puritanism two or three hundred years earlier. Even in their pleasures and recreations, his people, as George III. saw, despised frivolity as much as they resented scandal. Brought up entirely and in seclusion by his mother, the young king had nothing of unmanli-

ness about him; he possessed even more than a due share of the hereditary courage of his race; he was a firm believer in the beneficent disciplinary and educational influences of the English public school system, then somewhat more rough than it has since become. In his personal habits, tastes, in all his private life, a country gentleman of the better, as well as simpler sort, he divided much of his time between field sports and farming; he was never known to have been anything but severely abstemious; his consistent respect for the sanctity of the marriage tie not only was an example at that time much needed by the country, but it appreciably if not permanently influenced those sections of society which are ever quick to reflect and imitate court usages, and through those sections every portion of the body politic. In his bearing he combined the grace and dignity of a king with the winning urbanity of a courtier; the nervous abruptness which was apt to mar his manner was compensated by an unfailing and homely kindliness which set all about him at their ease. In a word, so far as disposition and deportment were concerned, George III. might have really deserved the compliment conventionally bestowed on his son, of being the first gentleman in Europe. Together with the military instincts as well as personal intrepidity of his House, he possessed the imperturbable composure, in the hour of danger, that, when it does not come to kings by nature, is so often developed in them by training; he also displayed an attention to details, so minute, so orderly, as to seem mechanical, as to make it doubtful whether method with this monarch was his instrument or his master. Thus, when dating his letters, he noted not only the day, but the very minute of writing. The

habit was deliberately adopted perhaps as a corrective to a constitutional tendency to carelessness of which he was conscious, and for that reason is the more commendable. A slight analogy between the parts which George III. and his great minister, Lord Chatham, were called upon respectively to sustain has been already noticed. Some resemblance, or suggestion of resemblance, might also be traced between the king and another of his ministers, Lord North. Here, too, sovereign and statesman both showed, on sudden emergencies, the same kind of easy nonchalance or good-humoured contempt of personal peril. During the Wilkes Riots of 1769, the royal palace was attacked and the king's life was in extreme danger; the king himself was the only inmate of St. James' who showed not the slightest signs of disconcertment. Eleven years later, in 1780, when the sanguinary fanaticism of Lord George Gordon and his followers seemed about to give the whole capital to the flames, the king, quietly sitting in his private room, issued the orders and drew up the whole plan of action, which, exactly followed by his subordinates, saved not only the City from destruction, but the country from civil war. On this same occasion, while George III., sitting in St. James' Palace, remained unmoved equally by threats of and by attempts at assassination, Lord North, in Downing Street, when the rioters seemed about to break in the front door, smilingly turned round towards a private secretary, a notoriously bad shot, who had snatched up the first weapon he could find, saying, "The only thing I am afraid of is Jack Spencer's gun." Soon after followed those eighteenth century No-Popery Riots, for whose powerful description in *Barnaby Rudge* one must go back to Defoe's *History of the*

Plague to find in fiction as true a picture of fact. More than one attempt on the king's life was made. In 1786, as he was entering St. James', a maniac tried to stab him; in 1795, he was attacked on his way to parliament; in 1800, a pistol was fired at him in the theatre. On none of these occasions did his presence of mind or his good humour fail him. "It is all in the daily tale of that nation's man of all work, a king," was the effect to which he pleasantly expressed himself. Almost identical words were used under equally discomposing circumstances by that brave son of a brave father, who succeeded to the Italian throne of Victor Emmanuel. As to the sincerity of his religion, and its influence on his life and conduct, the bitterest enemies of the third George have never breathed a doubt.

He began his reign with a proclamation against immorality; before that, at the very moment of his coronation, contrary to the general usage, he took off his crown while the Communion was being administered to him. In the same spirit, he reprimanded a preacher who had thought a compliment to the king in a sermon would be a sure way to court favour; he discontinued the Sunday receptions formerly held at the palace; he put down high play among his courtiers; he frowned upon the primate, who had given balls at Lambeth. So impressive was the reverence of his manner at service, that children were taken to behold their sovereign at his devotions, and to observe how an earthly monarch humbled himself to the ground before the Throne of the King of Kings. This theological fervour and ceremonial earnestness were accompanied by a practical regard for the material not less than the spiritual welfare of his people.

It was in 1756 that the capture on the high seas of the Hackney upholsterer's son, with the subsequent experiences of the inhumanities to which prisoners of war were subjected, prepared John Howard for his services as prison reformer.* Eighteen years later, in 1774, were passed the two first of English Prison Reform Acts. One of these measures enforced cleanliness in gaols; another was the immediate result of John Howard's personal investigations when High Sheriff of Bedfordshire. During his tenure of that office, Howard had discovered untried and even discharged prisoners to be at the mercy of their gaolers; unless the blackmail levied by these men was paid, the prisoner was tolerably sure, while waiting trial, to be treated barbarously, and after trial, even were he acquitted, to be liable to indefinite detention. But though Howard had roused the national mind to some sense of the abuses and barbarities that he noted himself, the legislative success of the reformer, as shown by the two statutes just described, might have been indefinitely delayed had not George III. espoused his cause and used his authority with his minister, Lord North, to secure the early and favourable consideration of Howard's further proposals for the reformation of prison abuses. A loyal son of the Church, he did not allow his strong prejudices in affairs of Church and State against Nonconformists to blind him to the national service rendered by Nonconformists, especially by the Methodist denomination. Of the good work of those who belonged to Lady Hunt-

* The father of John Howard left him a large fortune acquired in successful trade. The son at once (1756) started on his travels; these were cut short by his capture by a French privateer, as a prelude to his incarceration at Brest.

ingdon's connection, the king was equally appreciative. During the later years of George III., a Nonconformist, Joseph Lancaster, opened, in 1798, a school in London. The best and most useful features of this institution were the instruction of the younger boys by the older boys, called monitors, and the undenominational study of the Bible. But Lancaster was a Dissenter. The Bishops discouraged him, and so promoted the rivalry to his system of Andrew Bell. George III., however, feared no Episcopal dissatisfaction and became Lancaster's most indefatigable, most active champion. That the Lancasterian Society became eventually the Royal British and Foreign School Society was due to the personal patronage of the sovereign. The good qualities which he was known to possess, with the contrast presented by these to his grandfather, George II., as well as to his great-grandfather, George I., more than explained the national jubilation at the time when he came to the throne. A nature more sympathetic and less slow to take on the influences of the epoch might have saved George III. from those mistakes to which his character and his inclination alike exposed him. In that case, George III. might have been not only a great, but a happy, a successful and a prosperous king. His years of activity, of physical and mental vigour, might have been free from the mistakes into which he was betrayed; happiness in achievement might have corresponded to excellence of intention; from the close of his life there might have been averted the miseries and calamities of mind, body, of estate and of domestic life, which, for any parallel to a figure and to fortunes so pathetic as those of their sovereign of the House of

Hanover, compel us to turn to Shakespeare's picture of King Lear—enfeebled by age, misused by his children and bereft of his reason.

On his coming to the throne, George III. knew absolutely nothing of life, of human character, of the world, of the political temper of his subjects, of the capacities or the limitations of the statesmen awaiting his confidence. After his father's early death, Leicester House had ceased to be the headquarters of the Tory opposition to the Whig administration of George II. The widowed mother of his grandson and successor was seldom at court, saw little of her royal relatives, and nothing of the Whig nobility, who alone supplied the crown with counsellors or society with its rulers. The nature of the heir presumptive was not such as to counteract these infelicities of circumstance or to make good these deficiencies of social and political education; the future king's abilities were not indeed below the average; they were accompanied by blemishes of temperament that confirmed and abrogated all his faults, without mellowing any of his many virtues. Suspicious, wrong-headed, sullen, vindictive;—such George III. showed himself as a boy; such he appeared in manhood; such throughout life he remained. His mother, the Princess of Wales, a woman of an arrogance not inferior to her ambition and love of power, alike for herself and for the sake of her son, declared that intercourse with the lords and ladies about the court must corrupt the morals of a son, her boast about whom was that he had never yet tasted of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. A truer explanation of this withdrawal of her boy from life in that world, where he was hereafter to rule, may be maternal jealousy of all influences ex-

cept her own over her son. One striking exception to that rule of isolation was permitted, or rather provided, by the Princess of Wales herself. Lord Bute, a Scotch peer, had been a power in the household of the late Prince of Wales, Frederick. When the time came for giving the son of that prince—the future George III.—an establishment of his own, the office Groom of the Stole placed Bute at its head. He was a man of trained literary judgment, of great taste and of a discrimination in all departments of art, greatly in advance of his age. He was among the earliest Britons who systematically scoured the Continent in quest of pictures by great masters, of every sort of artistic curiosity, of bric-à-brac and of vertu. In these enterprises he employed a young compatriot of his own, Gavin Hamilton, a native of Lanark, who, having won some home reputation with his brush, went to Italy to complete his education. There he fell in successively with the third Lord Bute and the first Lord Lansdowne.

Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, before its occupation by the most splendid of patrons whom opulent Whiggism ever gave to English art and letters, had been the abode of Lord Bute, who sold it to the Lansdowne family in 1768. The picture and statue gallery of this mansion, as they exist to-day, are due less to Lord Bute, who sold the house while it was yet unfinished, than to the Lansdowne purchasers. But while still in Lord Bute's possession, the future Lansdowne House was a stately social centre for the aristocracy; it might also with literal truth have been called "The Hall of Harmony," for the minister enjoyed music as much as his royal master. In Berkeley Square George III. was the frequent guest of Lord Bute. According to long ac-

cepted tradition, mythical perhaps but not impossible, it was in the intervals of the music that the statesman and the sovereign settled or discussed the stroke of policy which was to cost Great Britain her American settlements. The passionate advice of his mother to the young heir to the throne, "George, be a king," has supplied Disraeli in *Coningsby* with some suggestions for an entertaining and brilliant description of the "Venetian system" from which it was the self-imposed mission of nineteenth century "Young England" to deliver their country, and from which to eighteenth century George III. Providence seemed to have allotted the duty of rescuing the State. Bolingbroke's *Patriot King* had been among the text-books chosen for the youthful education of the prince. The ideal polity of that treatise was the absolute rule of a crowned individual governing his people, for their own good indeed, but being himself the sole arbiter of the true conditions of their happiness. Bolingbroke held party in the true sense of the word to have been extinguished by the Revolution of 1688. Already the nation was growing weary of the political dichotomy, that unscientifically split it into Whig and Tory. Under Sir Robert Walpole, as Premier, the Opposition leaders were Sir John Barnard and Sir William Wyndham. The former was a man of great parliamentary knowledge and resourcefulness, not without political acumen, but wilfully perhaps blind to the rising tide of a popular feeling, growingly hostile to the royal prerogative; the latter was a stately Jacobite Squire of immense territorial wealth and power, a cordial enemy of representative government, a firm believer in the doctrine and practice of passive obedience, as the sole remedy to all the

nation's ills. According to these views, the king could do no wrong, not indeed because his ministers were responsible for his shortcomings, but by Divine grace the monarch ought to be, or was, infallible. Nor, it was urged upon the young George III., were these only the dreams of a brilliant but disappointed and embittered politician. The theory, names and forms of the Constitution were, it must be remembered, all on the same side. The greatest of legal writers on these subjects, Blackstone, says not a word about administration by cabinet or by highly placed family connections. George III. aimed at absolute government—less by any open exercise of prerogative than by influence, patronage, the government boroughs, civil list, secret service funds and all the machinery of the "king's friends."

Such educational influences as these, with their political, national and imperial results, enable one to appreciate the description of George III. by one who was the best of all judges, Lord Waldegrave,—the ablest of his governors:—a boy of respectable abilities, constitutionally indolent, ignorant of evil, sincerely pious, neither generous nor frank, the creature of the strongest prejudices, hating all business; the indolence was at first aggravated rather than diminished, confirmed rather than weakened, by the indifference to pleasure, so often considered one of George III.'s merits; for it is notoriously easier to pass from active pleasure to work, than to exchange the passive inaction of indolence for the vigorous initiative of industry. Once king, George III. soon astonished those about him by completely casting off all signs of sluggishness, and not only by the closest application to all the routine duties of royalty, but by the habit which he acquired of never

delegating to others that which he could do himself.

As regards the charge of intolerance brought against this king, it is to be remembered that not only his own deep and overruling convictions, but his inveterate suspicion of the motives and the sincerity of the persons with whom he had to do, are qualities, in themselves as well as in their results, easily mistaken for bigotry. The principle on which, with regard to Catholic Emancipation and religious disabilities of all kinds, George III. acted, was that universally accepted during the eighteenth century. According to this theory Church and State formed one and the same polity, looked at in different aspects. Such was the light in which, writing for the next century, Mr. Gladstone, in his book on *Church and State,* saw the same facts. To the charge of intolerance, indeed, a practical answer has been already suggested in the account given of the king's respectful and sympathetic temper towards the Methodists; he supported, too, the educational system devised by the Nonconformist Lancaster, rather than that which, drawn up by the Churchman Bell, found favour with his own political friends. Of George III. it might justly be said that both his abilities and the limitations of these abilities were equally useful to his country. Had his intellect been stronger, or his moral virtue less, he might have ended by establishing a despotism; this, in turn, would have been followed by the destruction of the monarchy.

The royal policy to which the king was urged by his mother, by his political teachers, and by his own personal choice, was of course reactionary, unwise, even anachronistical. It was not, however, irrational;

had the king chosen the instruments of his aims better, he might quite conceivably have been successful; his action was generally consistent; it was grounded upon a definite, as well as a theoretically defensible view of the conditions of the time. Its feasibility had been illustrated in the rise to the first place of the elder Pitt, Lord Chatham. Walpole's administrations, including Stanhope and Townshend, ended in 1721; Chatham's ascendency did not establish itself before 1766; the intervening four decades were occupied with struggles for place and power between the two divisions of the Whig party. The Broad Bottom administration of Henry Pelham in 1744, and the several social reforms that it successfully carried through by the harmonious co-operation of men, titularly belonging to both of the great political connections, yet fanatically attached to neither of them, had set men thinking whether the artificial party system was essential to representative institutions and constituted a permanent type of government. The common-sense of the nation had begun to weary of the monotony of Whig administration, and was eagerly inquiring whether because one party commanded a fluctuating majority in the House of Commons, the talents and energies of the opponents of that party ought to be lost to the party. Not the choice of the great families but the cry of a perplexed and disheartened people had summoned Pitt to the rescue in 1756. George III. was therefore acting upon the plain teaching of events, when he decided to choose as his ministers the men whom he preferred, independently of the considerations of the political connection with which they might be identified. His failure in the rôle of the Patriot King was due not to the Quixotic impracticability of the part,

but to the circumstance of its being preoccupied and already in process of successful performance by the uncrowned monarch, Lord Chatham himself. In the case of the House of Commons in its treatment of John Wilkes and the legality of general warrants, George indeed had the chance of showing himself for the time, independent of an unpopular parliament, of placing himself at the head of the national feeling, as well as in due course of regulating and restraining the popular forces which the Wilkes episode had irritated and exasperated.

Queen Anne had truly boasted herself to be thoroughly English; after her, neither the Dutchman William III., nor the Stuart Pretenders, looking, as the latter did, to French mercenaries for help, appeared to the great bulk of English people more unintelligently and repulsively foreign than had seemed the first two sovereigns of the Hanoverian line. By the year of George III.'s accession, 1760, the political supremacy of the middle classes practically did not fall far short of what it was in the Victorian England, governed by Sir Robert Peel. There were many who admired the simple uprightness of the new king, who saw in the respectability of his life and in the purity of his court the long-sighed-for disappearance of the scandals that had disgusted so many who had no liking for Jacobitism, and who hated foreign fashion in religion or politics. George III. at once showed his hostility to the Whig magnates, whose power since Anne had been almost unbroken, and his preference for the new bourgeois over the old nobility; no king had ever so cordially recognized the claim of the new wealth to the same place in the social polity as had immemorially been filled by the old acres. The purpose of George III.

was to supersede party government by monarchical rule; to that end he wished his own ministers to be his own, not parliament's nominees. The policy was mistaken; it might for a time have succeeded, had the king selected his political instruments with as much of wisdom, as he had showed of clearness and strength in defining his object. Had the king's designs been successful, the sovereign would have acquired despotic power; the parliament would have become the passive instrument for the execution of the royal will. The idea that George flouted and overrode his House of Commons is not entirely borne out by facts. At the time of the Lord George Gordon Riots, as has been already remarked, the king performed a national service by not waiting for his ministers and parliament to take the initiative; his promptitude in dealing with the disturbance saved London from being reduced to ashes.

Another opportunity of playing the part for which he had been trained, and of really showing, as well as thinking himself, "The Patriot King," was missed by George III. in the relations between the mother country and her transatlantic settlements. The aim of his minister Grenville, generally, was to make the colonies pay for their own defence and to adopt a system of military union amongst themselves. If the king had in this matter intervened and with a benevolent absolutism, he might have shown himself the true father of his people on both sides of the Atlantic; but the first signs of colonial resistance caused him to take his stand upon the legal rights of England, and of himself as sovereign; his misplaced tenacity of purpose made him insist on the continuance of the Anglo-American War, long after the courtly statesman, Lord North, would have

brought it to an end. When the battle had been lost and won, when United States independence was firmly established, George III. did something to improve the relations between the two countries, by receiving with marked respect the first accredited representative of the American Republic ever visiting England. Generally, in foreign policy, the king's aim was to assert for her own objects the power and the dignity of his country; the Whigs, it seemed to him, had made England the dupe and the creature of the great European Powers. His own idea, therefore, was in all international affairs to establish for England the claim to regulate her foreign acts and alliances by her own necessities alone. In homely words, whose sentiment recalls the leading principle enunciated in the famous speech of Pericles, as reported by the Greek historian, for the sake of imaginary greatness, England should beware of bringing upon herself real distress; she must, in fact, cut her coat according to her cloth. The fear of the aristocratic Whigs during Lord Shelburne's Premiership was that the administration of this nobleman might mean personal government. Hence the action of Thurlow and Temple against the Shelburne cabinet; thus, too, was given another proof of the national impatience of that Government by the two great aristocratic connections for undermining which George III. eagerly seized any justification furnished by any passing events of the hour.

Before beginning a more detailed examination of the reign of George III., it may be as well to indicate the natural divisions of which the whole Georgian era admits. The first of these will include the entire period, already reviewed,—from the beginning of Walpole's power to the accession of the

sovereign now being dealt with; a second epoch would be marked by the interval between the accession of George III. and the beginning of the Regency; the next division includes the years from the beginning of the Regency to the death of George IV. Each of these portions of time has its own different characteristics;—the age of Walpole marks the close of a revolutionary time, when the new dynasty is universally accepted, and when the Stuarts have the support only of a faction. It was an age of order without loyalty, of philosophy without science. On the other hand, this period almost uniformly showed signs of brighter, happier and greater times; the standard of commercial integrity was becoming higher; a better feeling was being generated between classes; the employers of labour, masters and capitalists were considerate; servants and the whole community of wage-earners were disposed to be loyal to their employers. If the gentry had not obtained universally a high standard of refinement, their lives were for the most part simple and healthy.

CHAPTER X.

KING, COUNTRY AND COLONIES.

The attempt, already generally described, of George III. to annihilate party involved, as a first step to its accomplishment, interference with the cabinet system. On his accession, the cabinet method was for the ministers secretly to decide on a general policy, as well as on the specific measures necessary for giving effect to their decision; the cabinet resolutions were then submitted to the king. George III. aimed at reversing all this. By secret agents he thwarted the ministers whom he disliked. At first his difficulties in getting all the threads of power into his own hands were comparatively few and slight; his designs seemed to prosper; the Rockingham and the Shelburne administrations, composed of the Whigs, out of favour at Court, were but temporary checks to the sovereign, George's later triumph over the Fox and North coalition was gradual, but decisive. The ministry of the younger Pitt, composed as it was of Whig and Tory elements indifferently, marked the temporary suspension of the party system; it was thus a victory of the sovereign, though the younger Pitt's great career marked also the triumph of an uncrowned over a crowned king. The national position of that statesman at the beginning of the nineteenth century surpassed, in splendour and power, the eminence, which his father had won; it might

well have reminded the sovereign that, under a parliamentary dispensation, Bolingbroke's ideal of a patriot king could only be realised in the person of a popular statesman, whose genius and influence might proclaim him, by more than a royal title, king among his countrymen.

For some time, however, nothing threatened to defeat the young king's great scheme for delivering the prerogatives of the crown from their subjection to ministers. At the beginning of the century, it seemed a reasonable opinion that, but for their costly loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church, the Stuarts would be restored amid the national acclamation. When that possibility finally disappeared, that which seemed alone to bar the national attachment to the Hanoverian line, was the popular feeling against foreigners. With George III. the old reproach ceased to exist; for the new king could rightly describe himself as a true-born Briton, the first of his House, educated in the country, the language and the traditions of his subjects. The Stuarts, indeed, had long since made themselves impossible; with a Hanoverian king they were qualified "to glory in the name of Briton," and were the only aliens of royal rank and pretensions left in the country. But with the upper classes, and especially in London, the Stuarts cannot have been entirely discredited, because at the time of the new king's accession many declared adherents of the Stuart cause were in high favour not only with political and official society, but even at St. James' itself. The truth is that for some time previously to George III.'s great venture, not only party in parliament but factions in the national body politic had ceased to exist. The court was once more the

social centre of English life. At least no inconvenient questions were asked as to the religion, the dynastic proclivities or antecedents of those who thronged St. James' on Levee days. All who were not flagrantly disqualified for admission were admitted; those who could not force their way in at once needed only a little perseverance to gain the *entrée* to the royal circle. The early court of George III. radiated indeed with dazzling and far penetrating attractions. The Stuarts had usually themselves excelled in smart sayings and in apt repartees; they had always appreciated wit in others. Lord Lichfield, Sir Walter Bagot and several more of a bright and careless set, to which Horace Walpole introduces us,—all of them fairly good at epigram or repartee,—seldom missed an appearance in the royal precinct; "the presence of such persons," said George Selwyn, "accounted for the number of Stuarts now at St. James'." George III. himself was indeed the true-born Briton he boasted of being; his mother, however, the Princess of Wales, knew little of English feeling and formed her notions of royal duties and opportunities from her experience of the petty and pompous German courts; these were sketched to the life by Disraeli (in the second part of *Vivian Grey*), to-day they survive only in history or fiction. The chief influences, other than those of his mother, which had moulded the mind and biassed the ambition of the young king were, as has been said above, the teachings of his Jacobite preceptors; these men, in their lessons and writings, did little more than expound the principles of Toryism laid down by Bolingbroke. Thus, there seems little of exaggeration in another portion of Lord Waldegrave's statement, that the young king abounded in princely

prejudices, contracted in the nursery and improved by the society of bedchamber women and pages of the backstairs. The leading ideas of George III. were indeed those of Bolingbroke, but the attempt to translate these ideas into practice was not made in the manner for which Bolingbroke ever promised success. The "Patriot King," as originally conceived by his creator, honestly held and tactfully enforced a theory of royal absolutism, which was at least all his own. In Bolingbroke's political philosophy there existed no place for the "forces behind the throne," which it was the great reproach against the king that he allowed to inspire and control his dealings with his ministers and with the body of his subjects.

Some time passed before the new ruler revealed himself and his political purposes in their true character. During the American troubles George III. first taught his people to see in him the resolute, the conscientious, and obstinate champion of imperial unity. On the king's accession there was in power an administration, formed by the union between the Duke of Newcastle and Pitt; both were counted Whigs; the Duke indeed had long been the titular leader of that party; Pitt, though one of the malcontents who, nicknamed indifferently the "patriots" and the "boys," had seceded from Walpole, if a Whig of a different school from that of Newcastle, was not yet accounted a Tory. Other Whig sections, especially those of the Grenvilles and Bedfords, were represented in this administration; during some years it had been so powerful as practically to silence all opposition and to defy all attack.

To the enterprise of overthrowing such an organization George III. brought genuine courage, much

aptitude for political intrigue, boundless ambition and untiring perseverance. Royal rule by favourites had been, under the Plantagenets and their successors, one of the most common and the least happy of kingly expedients. As already said, the intervention of such persons between the sovereign and his ostensible and constitutional counsellors had never been anticipated by George III.'s great master Bolingbroke; it was, in fact, entirely the device of George himself. In 1761 the king's secret adviser, Lord Bute, whose name scandal had injuriously associated with the king's mother, the Princess of Wales, became Secretary of State. Before that appointment was made the sovereign had filled various smaller places with his own nominees, entirely ignoring his first minister Newcastle; meanwhile Bute himself, then a courtier only and not a minister, had notified the Admiralty officials that none of the boroughs where that department had influence were to return any members but those nominated by the king.

Foreign affairs now chiefly engaged the minds of the king and his people. Bute had prepared a policy, which commanded the approval of the Tories as well as the Whigs, but which was diametrically opposed to the whole Whig tradition, accepted as that tradition had been by successive ministers and confirmed by periodical appeals to the constituencies. The central object aimed at by Bute was one of national isolation,—to bring to a close any pending European hostilities in which England was concerned—no more to subsidise foreign princes in wars from which England was not to derive any advantage. For the accomplishment of these objects Bute required the king's consent to the elimination of the Whig ele-

ment in the administration. The overt war of George III. against the long supreme Whigs began with the removal from their lord-lieutenancies of the Dukes of Newcastle, Grafton and Rockingham; the head of the great Whig House of Cavendish, the Duke of Devonshire, sent in his resignation; the king himself struck that peer's name off the list of the Privy Council. Pitt had already resigned because the cabinet would not sanction a declaration of war against Spain. Early in 1762 the retirement of Newcastle followed, ostensibly on the ground of Bute's discontinuance of the subsidy to Prussia, really because the whole direction of foreign imperial policy and the entire bestowal of government patronage were kept secret from the man who constitutionally was responsible for both. In 1763 the king took another step towards establishing the unconditional supremacy of the crown by dismissing all members of the House of Commons from offices held by them under government. Thus far success had followed the intrigues of Lord Bute; in 1761 he had displaced Lord Holdernesse as Secretary of State; in 1762 he became Prime Minister. Had the Duke of Newcastle and his colleagues been united instead of being, as was actually the case, divided by mutual jealousies, this ascendency could not have been so easily secured. Bute himself was as little liked among the governing classes, especially by the aristocracy about the court, as he was unpopular in the country.

Scotchmen were at this time beginning to realise for themselves and to convince the world of the truth of Dr. Johnson's remark, "The happiest prospect ever seen by the Caledonian in his native land is the high-road which leads him to London." English

jealousy of the Northerner who came to seek his fortune south of the Tweed, one of the keynotes of *Roderick Random,* and other of Smollett's novels, was a commonplace of popular literature. The success which in real life generally crowned the industry and adventures of Scotchmen in South Britain made Englishmen of all classes ready to see a rival and an enemy in every newcomer from beyond the Tweed. Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, whose personal geniality and accessible influence with William Pitt, at a later period of George III.'s reign, secured him a good position in England, never entirely overcame the feeling of disfavour with which his Scotch nationality had at first caused him to be regarded. The commercial classes in England attributed to Scotch agencies the periodical interruptions which the outbursts of Jacobitism inflicted upon their business. The clan system of the Highlands proved a shelter for Jacobitism, long after it had become as extinct in the Lowlands as in England itself. So during our own epoch Fenianism and its various agencies were resented as a social nuisance long after they had ceased to be a national peril. In the case of Bute, the general English public saw in him a specially offensive type of an unpopular and rival nationality, who, by arts familiar to his race, had insinuated himself into favour first with the natural guides of the king's boyhood; secondly, with the king himself. To the English governing families, he seemed an interloper, because he had no connections of birth with the great political houses south of the Tweed. The demagogues and levellers denounced him as a servile adventurer, chosen by the king for a work which was to undo the beneficent results of three centuries of constitutional progress.

In truth, however, Lord Bute was perfectly fitted for the task assigned him by his sovereign; his very freedom from compromising family relationships with the ruling aristocracy, as well as his absence of personal sympathies with any ambition or any coterie of the ruling aristocracy, constituted him from the first a suitable agent of the king's enterprise, and abundantly proved George III.'s powers,—a royal faculty not uncommon of correctly choosing his man. The high-toned piety of the king proved in practice not inconsistent with as much of reserve or even insincerity as had been displayed by an earlier monarch of exemplary religious orthodoxy—Charles I. The whole history of politics behind the scenes contains few better instances of finesse in playing off rival statesmen against each other than is presented in the narrative of the use to his royal master to which Lord Bute turned the jealousies between the elder Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, and the Duke of Newcastle. These tactics were successfully continued till Lord Egremont and George Grenville had been brought into the cabinet, and considerations of personal honour compelled the retirement of the veteran Whig leader, the Duke of Newcastle. Before that, as has been already seen, George III. had emancipated himself from the dominance of the most powerful and popular member of the cabinet, nominally presided over by the Duke of Newcastle;—Pitt had resigned his place as Secretary of State. England was then at war with France; France had concluded a secret treaty with Spain, engaging the Spanish government to declare war against England, directly the annual treasure-fleet from America should have arrived safely in Spanish waters. This international arrangement became known to the Eng-

lish government. Pitt was for anticipating matters by at once declaring war against Spain and by sending out a fleet to intercept and capture the treasure-ships. That policy was not supported by his cabinet colleagues; Pitt therefore resigned.

The king indeed might have found reason to complain of the arrogance of the great minister; he alone kept the cabinet in office; his authority came to him from the people; hence he argued his exceptional responsibility for the whole government policy. If that lofty attitude confirmed the popular power of the retiring minister, the favours heaped upon him by his sovereign compromised and eventually weakened him as a representative of the people. The acceptance of a peerage to Mrs. Pitt and to Pitt himself of a yearly pension of £3,000 for three lives, accomplished the two-fold object prompting these kingly favours. Pitt himself, whose loftiness and grandeur did not prevent his being a courtier, dutiful even to servility,* was at once conciliated by his sovereign, for his practical supersession and was prejudiced with the people, whose idol and uncrowned head he had so long been. The announcements of his resignation and of his acceptance of royal favours bestowed appeared side by side in the official *Gazette*. The popular favourite's reputation for sincerity was at once impaired; he never quite regained his earlier prestige.

The Duke of Newcastle, on laying down his office in 1762, received from his sovereign none of those compliments with which his royal master had sweetened Pitt's retirement. The king made no effort to conceal his unconcern at the duke's departure, and

* Edmund Burke's well-known description of this trait in Pitt's character is, "A glimpse into the king's closet always intoxicates him."

never acknowledged by a single word his half-century's service to the royal family. That at least is the account given by the Duke of Newcastle himself, a man of very exact veracity, in a letter to Lord Rockingham of the May of 1762, when his resignation took place. "I will say," concludes the duke on this occasion, "nothing more of myself, but that I believe no other man was ever so dismissed."* On the other hand, Lord Bute about the same time, writing to Grenville, May 25, 1762, says, "the king's conduct to the duke to-day was great and generous." One fact at least is not doubtful. Whatever Newcastle's personal faults or political mistakes, the circumstances of his resignation are of the kind which never fail to adorn the individual records of English statesmen; his retirement cost Newcastle nearly £20,000 a year.† Yet he would not even accept a retiring pension. The two great obstacles in the way of Bute's promotion to the highest place were now removed. Pitt's national ascendency, oratorical genius and administrative power, Newcastle's unrivalled experience, party influence and family connections, were instruments of authority with which smaller statesmen could not successfully compete. Now that Newcastle was gone and Pitt had followed, the royal edict for Whig proscription had been carried out so faithfully, that scarcely an office clerk or a village postmaster originally owing his appointment to the patronage of a Whig parliament man could be found in Whitehall or throughout the country. As has been already shown, the territorial influence of the great Whig aristocracy, of the Cavendishes and of others had been assailed, if not successfully impaired, by

* *Rockingham Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 111.

† The exact drop in his income was from £25,000 to £6,000.

either dismissing them from their county lord-lieutenancies or by making those positions intolerable to them. Thus had been firmly laid the foundations of the court triumph, justifying the exclamation of the Dowager Princess of Wales, "Now my son is king of England." Thus had been fulfilled the royal menace, "Great lords must be humbled, parties must be overborne; parliament must be laid low." When in 1762 Lord Bute became Chief of the Cabinet with Lord Granville as President of the Council, the Duke of Bedford as Privy Seal, Lord Halifax as Naval Minister, with Lord Egremont, George Grenville and one or two others of no great account as Secretaries of State, an end was gained which the Tory party had long pursued in vain; and when a year later the Peace of Paris was signed between England, France, Spain and Portugal, securing to England her American conquests, including Canada, as well as certain fresh gains in the West Indies, it seemed as if the Whigs must abandon every principle, domestic or foreign, social or political, for which they had ever contended. The surrender seemed to destroy the last chance of a reaction in favour of liberal or progressive ideas. Such appearances did, however, belie the true facts. George III. had not yet indeed reached the height either of a popularity that was never in doubt, or of a power with which Charles I. himself might have been content; in reality the eventual victory of constitutional sovereignty, as well as of the popular government which that sovereignty implied, however long it might be delayed, was assured. George III. had in fact overreached himself; he had, by the perfectly legal but short-sighted, by the conscientious if arbitrary exercise of his prerogative, purged parliament and politics of

Whiggism; he had ostracised and apparently annihilated the Whig leaders. In reality he had only taught those statesmen to look for support to that which was shortly to be the only source of strength alike to sovereign and ministers—the will of the constituencies as expressed in the House of Commons.

Hitherto, no results favourable on a very striking scale to popular liberties had followed the Revolution of 1688, effected as that movement was by the Whig nobles in conjunction, less with the people at large, than with the prosperous, peace-loving middle classes. The Pelham administrations in some sense indeed, as has been already seen, began a chapter in social and popular reforms long needed. The Whigs, as a party, had not yet distinguished themselves by any very keen sympathy with the English masses in their daily troubles and needs; their leaders were men differing only from their Tory opponents in being candidates for office, while Tories held both place and power. Not till a period very much later than the successive overthrows of Newcastle and Pitt, did the Whigs begin to find the secret and source of strength, and the security for ultimate success in identifying themselves with the practical expression of popular feeling; so indeed it was that had first risen to power the Pitt who died Lord Chatham. The lesson of that great man's success had not yet been learnt aright by those who belonged to the same party connection as Chatham's followers. Thereafter, however, the two great parties in the State, instead of being, as hitherto they had been, rival claimants for the favour of the same king, seekers after a power emanating from a common source—the court—were to uphold two distinct policies arising out of opposite views of the conduct of

affairs and of the conditions of national well-being. Party politics therefore, as they are understood in nineteenth century England, may be said to commence with the third George; party politicians were in truth made and inspired by those very agencies to which that sovereign had looked for extirpating the party system.

Lord Bute, in the phrase used to indicate so many other careers, "had gone up like the rocket, was now to come down like the stick." His was the earliest instance of a public man reaching the first place, not by his own great merits or after years of patient labour, but by the sudden elevation which royal favour supplied. Within little more than a year, the Groom of the Stole and Ranger of Richmond Park had become Secretary of State, Prime Minister and Knight of the Garter. His wife had been made an English peeress. Except in Juvenal's *Episode of Sejanus,* only the *Arabian Nights,* with their stories of the sudden rise and fall of Grand Viziers, supply any precedent for the swiftly following and dramatically contrasted vicissitudes of which consists the story of Lord Bute. The position achieved with so magical a speed was scarcely won, when it began to be visibly untenable. The life of the favourite had already become a burden to him. Every day his cabinet, with such elements of disunion in it as George Grenville and Henry Fox, became rent by internal jealousies increasingly serious. Each new session gave strength, coherence and numbers to the Whig opposition. The boot, the pictorial emblem in the caricatures of the day of the Premier, was a symbol of usurpation, arrogance, incapacity, as well as of worse even than that, loathed and execrated throughout the country. His enemies in the press,

in parliament or among the general public showed him no quarter. His life and limbs were in constant jeopardy. At the opening of parliament, in November of 1762, he was hissed and pelted upon each occasion of his going to parliament to take part in its proceedings. His family trembled for his safety till his return. During rather less than a year—for a somewhat shorter time, that is, than the period covered by the favourite's rise—George III.'s statesman held office. Then he thoroughly confessed how intolerable the situation had grown; he surprised the parliament, the public, and it would even seem the king himself, by resigning the first moment that he had completed his arrangements for the carrying on of the king's affairs on the same lines as those on which he had himself conducted them, and by men, steeped as he might have thought in his influences, to be trusted therefore to perpetuate his example.

Lord Bute had no intention of laying down power, together with office. George Grenville, his own Secretary of State, was to be his successor in the premiership. The Secretaries of State under George Grenville himself, carefully selected by George III. and by Bute, were to be Lords Halifax, Egremont, Gower and Sandwich. Lord Gower was Lord Chamberlain, Lord Holland went to the Admiralty, the great house of Manners was represented by Lord Granby. An administration so constituted was manifestly designed to be controlled by court influence, exercised through Lord Bute, who with one or two more constituted an interior cabinet. Hence Lord Chesterfield's often quoted remark: "Through the curtain, which was indeed a very transparent one, the public still looked at Lord Bute." Grenville, however, was not the man to be satisfied with merely

nominal authority; in strength of will, in tenacity of the rights of his position, as well as in confidence of his own power and influence, the minister did not yield to the sovereign; both were self-opinionated and stubborn in the same degree, the chief difference between their views and their position was, that while George III. considered the source of his power to be the crown he wore, Grenville knew that from parliament alone, in the days now reached, could come the strength needed by a statesman to enforce his policy. That difference, however, did not make Bute's successor in the premiership one whit less arbitrary than was his royal master; the absolute king soon began to chafe against his high-handed, hard-grained premier; the presence in the cabinet of Lord Egremont as Secretary of State helped to soften the friction between the sovereign and Grenville. When that presence was withdrawn by the death of Lord Egremont in 1763, the king employed Bute to negotiate with Pitt as to the terms on which he would join Grenville; negotiations ended in the reorganisation of the government by a union between Bedford and Grenville, known as the Bedford Ministry. Halifax was already one of the Secretaries of State, the other was Sandwich. This profligate peer had lived on intimate terms with John Wilkes, now about to become a prominent and popular personage. As to the political and parliamentary bearings of the Wilkes episode, as to the collision into which it brought the king, not so much with parliament as with the constituencies, all that is necessary will presently be said, when some of the earlier Wilkes issues reappear in the situation created by the effort of Fox to force Pitt into resigning, without asking the country's opinion upon the merits of the India

bills, proposed respectively by the Coalition, and the government that succeeded it. The Wilkes case is briefly this:—In number 45 of the *North Briton,* Wilkes had applied to Bute language for which the Secretary of State, Lord Halifax, issued against him a general warrant; such warrants did not mention any name, nor limit the search for incriminating evidence; they were afterwards declared by Lord Chief Justice Pratt to be illegal; to the temporary loss of the king's popularity, they enabled Wilkes to pose as a martyr. The printers and the publishers of the paper were proceeded against at Grenville's order. Wilkes himself, who, more audacious than other pamphleteers, indicated the object of his attack not by initials or asterisks but by his full name, was apprehended. During a domiciliary visit of the agents of the law, the private papers of the pamphleteer, who was also M.P. for Aylesbury, were under the authority of one of these general warrants ransacked, with the result that Wilkes immediately found himself a parliamentary and political idol of the masses. Grafton and Temple, the two Opposition leaders, visited Wilkes in prison, encouraged and helped him in resisting his treatment by the government. Wilkes and the publishers of the libels were prosecuted in the King's Bench. Chief Justice Pratt, who tried the case, decided that members of parliament being exempt from arrest, save for treason, felony and breach of the peace, the apprehension of the member for Aylesbury was illegal. But if the law was on the side of Wilkes, that was only the worse for the law. The government deprived him of his militia commission; Temple, for sympathising with him, was dismissed from the Buckinghamshire Lord-Lieutenancy; Wilkes' acquittal at law by

the Chief Justice produced nearly as much popular jubilation as had been shown on the acquittal of the Seven Bishops or Dr. Sacheverell. Wilkes, who had before been compassionated as a victim, was now fêted as a hero. Nor even among courtiers were there many who missed the fatal character of the King's new mistake; throughout the Wilkes episode, "thorough" was as much the policy of George III. and his advisers as it had been the watchword, in an earlier century, of Charles I. and of Lord Strafford. The punishments, meted out to the supporters of Wilkes, were not confined to men of the high standing of Earl Temple. From the sixteenth century or even earlier had been recognized the constitutional doctrine of the irresponsibility to their sovereign of members of parliament for their speeches or their votes at Westminster. None of the Hanoverian kings had attended parliamentary debates.* If not to the letter and in fact, yet morally and to all practical results, George III. deserted this usage of his predecessors. From his minister, Grenville, he knew as much of the speeches made and the votes given as if he had himself listened from the gallery or watched the filing of the "ayes" and "noes" into the lobby. General Conway, Colonels Barré and A'Court, all of them Opposition M. P.'s who supported Wilkes, were stripped of their army commands. For the same offence Lord Shelburne was dismissed from his court office of aide-de-camp. The most authentic source of information on all these transactions, the *Grenville Papers,* shows the minister Grenville to have been wiser than his royal master and to have used his influence to secure the retention of some, if not all, the dismissed army

* May's *Constitutional History*, Vol. I., p. 28.

officers in their posts. But nothing can be established more clearly by the evidence of State papers, than that in and after 1765, by whatever name the government might be called, the king was really his own minister, and that Grenville, however strong his will, generally acted as little more than registrar of his royal master's resolves. "Mr. Grenville, I am surprised that you have not come, when you knew it was my orders to be attended this evening. I expect you to come, therefore, the moment you receive this." So ran one of the many missives addressed during this period by the monarch to the minister. At the time the overruling influence of Lord Bute was seen in the sustained self-will of the sovereign. As a fact, however, again and again did the king assure Grenville and other of his advisers that Lord Bute should never, directly or indirectly, have anything to do with his business or give advice on anything whatever. Against this declaration may be set the statement of Jenkinson, the future Lord Liverpool, that the king and Lord Bute interchanged daily letters, and that the sovereign received from his favourite a diary of all that happened, "as minute as if your boy at school was directed by you to write his journal to you." By the end of 1768, however, Grenville himself was satisfied that Bute's influence was at an end, and that though the favourite was still the confidant of the princess, his majesty's mother, he had ceased to be the counsellor of the king. What seems most probable is that, in this matter, George III. faithfully kept his promise and never resumed his earlier connection with Lord Bute. By this time, indeed, apparent success had bred with the king so much confidence in his kingcraft and statecraft, as to relieve him of all want of counsellors, and to

cause him to look only for instruments to give effect to his own resolves.

Though, after 1765, George III. seems gradually to have cut himself aloof from Lord Bute, the relations between the king and the Grenville administration were not permanently improved; the premier or one of his colleagues was frequently on the point of resigning, and only consented to remain in office upon some fresh condition. The condition was generally one affecting, if not the former favourite himself, yet one of his name and blood; as, for instance, when Grenville insisted on the dismissal of Lord Bute's brother, Stuart Mackenzie, from some high post in the Scotch government. But no really satisfactory arrangement between the sovereign and his ministers was practicable, for the simple reason that the king never ceased to plot their overthrow. It was in vain that the nominal premier, Bedford, prayed the king to give his favour to the counsellors to whom he had delegated his authority. The court coterie resented any such request as insolent and overbearing and directly tending to enslave the king. Meanwhile the general English feeling against all things, causes, and persons Scotch, and the personal unpopularity still clinging to the memory of Bute, suggested to the sovereign a method of at once conciliating the anti-Scotch prejudices of his people and of ridding himself of Grenville and his friends. The severity shown by him in suppressing the Jacobite rising in North Britain had won for the king's uncle the nickname of Butcher Cumberland. To that royal duke, his nephew the king now entrusted the negotiations that might, it was hoped, bring back Pitt to the helm. But Pitt's first condition was the co-operation of Lord Temple, who was prejudiced

against Grenville. Eventually recourse was had to a Whig, as little acceptable, if not so formidable, to the court as Pitt himself. The liberal and enlightened Lord Rockingham, whom George III. had not long since ousted from a county lord-lieutenancy, became premier, while another of the sovereign's aversions, who had been recently deprived of his regiment, General Conway, was gazetted Secretary of State and took the leadership of the House of Commons. To the popular mind the sinister influence between the sovereign and his responsible ministers still remained. Pitt openly declared the new administration to be subject to an interior cabinet dominated by Bute, whose countrymen, he even went on to say, wanted wisdom and held principles incompatible with freedom. Nothing, however, can be more specific and positive than the repudiation by Conway for himself and for his colleagues of any authority of the old favourite with the new government; nor was the disclaimer of Lord Bute himself less categorical. Some years later, October, 1773, Lord Bute himself, through his son, declared upon his solemn word of honour that he had not waited on his Majesty except at a levée or a drawing-room, and had not been asked and had not, directly or indirectly, between 1765 and 1773, volunteered any advice or opinion concerning the disposition of offices or the conduct of affairs.

Through those who in the phrase of the day were called his "friends" the king abated none of his pretensions and forfeited none of his earlier successes. That, of course, could scarcely have been the case unless George III. on the whole faithfully reflected some of the deepest convictions of his subjects; nor is it really conceivable that he would have

persevered in the opposition to his ministers, unless, notwithstanding the censures of his contemporaries and posterity upon the course he pursued, the sovereign had reason to believe himself to be in closer sympathy than any of his advisers with, and a more truthful representative of, the most deeply seated and abiding emotions of his subjects upon the supreme question of the hour. Political philosophers of all times have agreed to regard an aristocracy as less pervious to ideas, if more capable of energetic action, than a democracy; the English people especially in that respect are supposed to compare unfavourably with the French. With a parliament not merely unreformed but not as yet in the popular sense of the word representative, no polity could be more purely patrician than that of England under the eighteenth century Hanoverians. In George III. the great mass of his people saw the embodiment, autocratic it might be, but faithful and conscientious, of the one idea which penetrated their social and political existence. The principle, as whose champion the king stood forth, was the imperial integrity of his realm. Being the personal symbol of the one great national doctrine, to which eighteenth century England had pinned its faith, George III. held a position in which the great body of his people desired to maintain him. His subjects and his own conscience had committed to George III. a duty as definite and sacred as that which in the next century the Northern States entrusted to Abraham Lincoln,—the task of maintaining the Union, one and indivisible. George III. at least made no mistake about the subjects of the most permanent and paramount importance; it was for these that he chiefly reserved the exercise of his prerogative. The manner in which

he employed that power was rightly judged by him to be unlikely to detach any large section of his people from loyalty to the crown.

For a proper appreciation of the position of George III., the nature and growth of England's Transatlantic Empire must be very briefly reviewed. The New England Provinces, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, including Vermont and Rhode Island, were the creation of the Pilgrim Fathers. Puritanism itself had in the eighteenth century become a tradition. The moral qualities of the Puritan Founders, their earnestness, their resolution, perhaps their sternness and severity, had been inherited by their descendants. The next domain of the English Empire beyond the Atlantic comprised the New Netherlands, which England had secured as the prize of war from Holland, during the reign of Charles II. These provinces had been granted to the Duke of York, New Amsterdam being re-named New York and Fort Orange higher up being known as Albany. The same grant to the king's brother also included New Jersey. Besides all this, large tracts of land in that quarter of the world had been allotted to court favourites or to public men, such as Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Most if not all of these were originally private possessions; such especially was the large tract colonised by William Penn, the Quaker, called after him Pennsylvania, as well as other territories inhabited by Protestant Nonconformists, principally Quakers, Presbyterians and Baptists. To the same division as Pennsylvania, though politically independent of it, belonged Maryland. Farther to the south lay Virginia, founded by Sir Walter Raleigh, but granted by James I. to the Merchant Adventurers. The latter body proved

unequal to the administration of the government. In 1624 Virginia became a crown colony. In much the same way the two Carolinas, originally belonging to a company of private owners, lapsed into anarchy and were arrested from it only when the crown assumed the administration of them. Georgia had been founded as an asylum for debtors and political refugees by General Oglethorpe, who brought about in 1728 the first inquiry into the state of English prisons. Spain, having received from France, in exchange for Florida, a portion of Louisiana, which was subsequently ceded to England, was at this period the only other power besides England established in America. All these provinces differed infinitely amongst themselves in respect of religion, laws and government; in most of them, however, existed some political analogy, if not likeness, to the English Constitution; the legislature generally consisted of two Houses, an Upper and a Lower; the Colonial Governor, when not nominated by the king, was the joint selection of the crown and the representatives of private proprietors, whom the crown had not yet bought out. As to the admission of the rights, duties and privileges of colonies, increasingly liberal views had long been taken; they were, however, generally regarded still as bound to the Mother Country by close ties of gratitude, and as not yet entitled to full commercial, any more than to full political, independence. Their exports to England had long been steadily rising in value.

The more closely are examined the causes and the course of the revolt of the American Colonies that ended in the founding of the United States, the more plainly will it appear that the origin of these troubles was not the personal obstinacy of George III. in op-

posing the enlightened views of his ministers, or in resisting the liberal tendencies of his subjects at home or of his time generally. Briefly summarised, the course of events was as follows: George Grenville, in 1763, after the fall of Lord Bute, became Prime Minister; he was the last man to be the passive instrument of the royal will; his Act of 1764, laying customs duties upon several articles imported into the American Colonies, the sum yielded by these imposts being reserved for the defence of the Colonies themselves, passed without opposition, almost without notice. The House of Commons at the same time passed a resolution affirming the possible propriety of hereafter charging certain stamp duties in America, as the foundation of future legislation. The colonists, habituated to perpetual interference with their trade by the home government, did not dispute the existence of that right now asserted by England; they resolved to evade the impost by the encouragement of native manufactures to the utmost of their power. The Stamp Act, however, prospectively hinted at, was at once condemned and declared to be a violation of the rights of Englishmen, who could only be taxed legally by their parliamentary representatives. The next session, however, Grenville went on with his Stamp Bill, the only protests, excited by which, came from the colonists themselves and their agents in England. The colonial petitions against the measure were disallowed by the House of Commons, under a rule excluding petitions against the tax proposed for the service of the year. Pitt, not yet Lord Chatham, was sick in bed, when the Stamp Act was passed. When, a little later, the subject came up for parliamentary discussion, he denounced taxation without representation, and demanded the

immediate repeal of the act. Lord Rockingham's ministry had now succeeded that of Grenville. The new premier at once adopted Pitt's suggestion, and in face of the king's resistance, as well as of Grenville's, secured the repeal of the Stamp Act. At the same time, of the import duties imposed in 1764, some were repealed, others reduced. The American Colonies seemed satisfied and the word separation had not yet been breathed. It was soon to be irrevocably uttered. The Duke of Grafton's administration followed in 1767 that of Lord Rockingham, Grafton being nominal Premier with Pitt, now Lord Chatham, in the cabinet as Privy Seal and morally predominating the whole government. An unexpected deficit of some half a million caused the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townshend, to press through parliament a Bill for customs duties on American imports estimated to produce £40,000. The colonists once more resisted; the English government again gave way, abandoned the general scheme of import duties, but adhered to the duty on tea, because of an arrangement previously entered into by the king's ministers with the East India Company. The sequel is too well known to need detailed repetition here. All the evidence on the subject, and especially that most recently brought to light by Sir George Trevelyan and others, goes to show that the English people at home, up to the last, very imperfectly realised the invincible objection of the colonists to pay the new duties or their determination to recognize no difference between customs and taxes. The convictions of the king himself upon the subject may be explained in a very few words. George III. certainly never had any notion of filling his own purse or the state treasury with large contri-

butions from transatlantic taxpayers. Some pecuniary recognition of the advantages guaranteed to the Colonies by his sovereignty and protection was evidently as much as he desired. To condemn the king because he did not sufficiently take into account the principle of "no taxation without representation" in his dealings with his transatlantic subjects, or, without making any reserves, to denounce the Secretary of the American Department, Lord George Germain, because the colonial statesmanship of the eighteenth century was less enlightened in its ideas than that of the nineteenth or twentieth, involves an anachronism.

The supporters of the crown were spoken of as the "king's friends"; they have been held up to posterity's opprobrium; as a fact they were not the sort of persons likely to be the passive, still less the venal, instruments of the royal will. They were for the most part independent members of parliament, and attracted for the most part by motives perfectly honourable, if mistaken, for the royal cause. High notion of the royal prerogative had not then gone out of date; while the sovereign had impressed a large number of perfectly honest and capable men with a deep sense of his sound judgment, perfect honesty, as well as other virtues. The king's friends were not a mere clique of supple intriguers, or of mechanically faithful instruments; they constituted a distinct political party with a discipline and a public opinion of its own. The doctrine that taxation and representation necessarily went hand in hand, and that the English parliament had no constitutional right to tax the Colonies, was first propounded by Pitt in his famous speech during the great debate in the House of Commons of January 14, 1765.

Some speakers of high authority took a different line; while upon another occasion, when the repeal of the Stamp Act was under consideration, Lord Mansfield, admitting that the royal name might be used in an unconstitutional way to win votes, laid it down that where the lawful rights of the king and parliament were to be asserted, it was fit and becoming that his Majesty's opinion should be known. On the other hand, the withdrawal of the Grenville Stamp Act was pronounced by the Rockingham government indispensable for colonial conciliation. Eventually the prime minister obtained the king's consent to make its repeal part of his policy. The Rockingham administration was dismissed in the summer of 1766, in a way not expected, and at the time not entirely understood. Circumstances had produced a certain general sympathy of public views between Pitt and the sovereign; the new titular prime minister was the Duke of Grafton: under him Pitt, going to the Upper House as Lord Chatham, consented to become Lord Privy Seal. Pitt's peerage had not changed his earlier constitutional views, nor was he prepared to advocate government by royal prerogative alone. His ambition and love of power made him ready to co-operate with the king in breaking up party distinctions; he had himself never been a party man; he had owed nothing to party support; his whole success and power came from his own resplendent genius, especially from the influence and popularity which had waited upon his majestic eloquence. Well therefore might the king, writing under date July, 1776, anticipate that Lord Chatham's authority would be used "to put down faction rather than to encourage it." For the time, therefore, party ceased to exist. As Horace

Walpole put it, everybody ran to court and voted for whatever was desired. Thus was the king strengthened by the support of Lord Chatham, in the pursuit of a policy—the absolute supremacy of the royal will—with which Chatham himself had no sympathy.

Meanwhile, within the royal family had happened events that were to give the king an opportunity for a fresh exercise of authority such as the elementary duties of his position seemed to impose upon him. The king's brother, the Duke of Gloucester, had lately married Lord Waldegrave's widow. His other brother, the Duke of Cumberland, had taken as his wife another widow, Mrs. Horton, a daughter of Lord Irnham. In 1772, therefore, was brought forward the Royal Marriage Bill, providing that none of George II.'s descendants, unless of foreign birth, can contract a legal marriage under twenty-five years of age and without the reigning sovereign's consent. More than seventy years later, in 1844, the House of Lords disallowed the marriage of the Duke of Sussex with Lady Augusta Murray, contracted in 1793, declaring a son born by it, Sir Augustus Este, to be without legal claims. It was of this measure that the king wrote to his prime minister that he expected every nerve to be strained to carry the bill, since it was not a question relating to administration but personal to himself; on this ground of right, as he thought, he expected a hearty support from every one in his service, adding that he would not fail to remember defaulters. Lists were to be drawn up, for the royal inspection, of those going away before the division or deserting to the minority. That document was to be a rule for the king's conduct at the next drawing-room. Especially, as ap-

pears from his Majesty's own words, was the sovereign incensed with the statesman against whom he afterwards became so bitter—Charles Fox—for active hostility to the measure. Now, too, seems to have begun the practice of the premier of the day, or of some one chosen by him, of preparing for the king's perusal an account of the House of Commons speeches delivered on both sides, as well as of every vote given in a division. Once more the military officers having seats in the Commons were dismissed from their commands, or, as in the case of Colonel Barré, were passed over in brevets and thus constrained to resign their commissions.

But notwithstanding the substantial success awarded by parliament to the kingly tactics, conclusively showing, as that success does, a powerful minority never to have wavered in allegiance to the sovereign, the repeated crises in European and in American affairs once more in 1778 obliged George III. to secure Lord Chatham, the one man able to save the country, to give his support to the North administration. Still the king protested; he would not give way; he was resolved to keep the Empire entire; no troops should be withdrawn from America. George III. was now recognized as his own minister; in the House of Commons Fox lamented the fact; Lord Germain, the head of the American department, did not deny it. Nothing of course came of the superficial effort to secure Chatham's adhesion to the government in 1778. Presently the death of that great man followed; after this, the transactions for replacing or modifying the North government were periodically renewed; nothing came of them. The ministry indeed had for some time ceased to be united on the most important subject of the hour.

In 1778, Lord Gower, President of the Council, avowing the opinion that the contest must end in ruin to His Majesty and the country, resigned. The premier had long entertained the same misgivings, but had never expressed them; North therefore remained. Suspicion and obstinacy combined conscientiously prevented the sovereign from seeing in Lord North's opponents anything but a deliberate design to impose their will upon his person, his principles and his dominions.

With the last two decades of the eighteenth century commenced the popular protest in parliament against the increasing influence of the sovereign. On April 6, 1780, were brought in Dunning's famous resolutions "that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished." At the same time it was agreed, without a division, that the House of Commons had a right to correct abuses in the Civil List Expenditure as well as in every branch of the public revenue, and to provide an immediate and effective redress of all the abuses complained of in the petitions now presented from many parts of the country. The Speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, during the debate, personally testified to the increasing power of the crown. Writing to Lord North in April of 1780, the king so far referred to them as to say, "I wish I did not feel at whom these insinuations were personally levelled." Scarcely less significant in cognate topics seemed the action of the House of Lords at this period. It was a Whig peer of the least aggressive sort, Lord Shelburne, who moved for an inquiry into public expenditure; the speech, introducing the motion, was immediately followed by fresh allegations of the growing power of the monarch; of those declarations the

most famous was that contained in the words of a former premier, Lord Rockingham, a Whig with the same bias towards Toryism as Edmund Burke, whom he had indeed brought into the House of Commons. According to Rockingham, throughout the whole of George III.'s time, there had been a fixed determination under the forms of law to govern the country through royal influence. Everything within or without, whether in cabinet, parliament or elsewhere, carried about it unequivocal marks of such a system; the whole economy of executive government, professional, deliberative or official, in all its branches, bore the same signs. Books, pamphlets, newspapers, contained in various forms the same court axiom, that the power of the crown alone gives all the support needful for the men whom the king thinks proper to call to his council. That they might feel free to give an independent vote on the Shelburne motion, Lords Carmarthen and Pembroke resigned their offices in the household. They had no sooner voted than they were dismissed from their county Lord-Lieutenancies. The facts perhaps could not have been put better than by the Duke of Richmond. "The country," said his Grace, "was governed by clerks,"—each minister confining himself to his own office; as a consequence, instead of unity of opinion in a concerted line of policy, nothing but dissension, weakness and corruption were displayed. The interior cabinet was working ruin in the country; while Fox was imputing all the defeats and disasters of the American War to the crown. Yet the year 1780 had advanced some way before Lord John Cavendish's vote of censure on ministers was brought forward, to be lost by a majority of ten—nearly the same figures as those

which secured the rejection of a like resolution by Sir James Rous. Yet even now the allegiance and sympathy of his subjects were not appreciably withdrawn from the sovereign. The House of Commons represented only by accident its constituencies; among the middle classes had been scarcely weakened the conviction that the king must be a better judge than any of his critics or any of his advisers of the real needs of the Empire. As cannot be too strongly insisted upon, the one thing to which George III. owed his ability to maintain himself on his throne, and generally to employ ministers of his own choice, was his identification of himself in the popular mind with the idea as well as with the fact of a British Empire—world-wide in extent, but one and undivided like the United Kingdom itself. In the tenacity with which he clung to that determination, George showed the courage of his race; while the crisis was at its height he talked of returning to Hanover; he gave orders for the royal yacht to be prepared; he might actually have sailed, but for the shrewd consideration of a witty courtier, "If his Majesty once left he might not find it easy to return." Events were now happening, destined to bring about the retirement of the favourite North. That statesman had long been treated by his sovereign as a friend rather than a minister, as in fact one of the royal family. The personal qualities of Lord North were those that have always made popular favourites of English statesmen; constitutional bonhomie; an unruffled good temper, flavoured by cynicism; the genial easy ways of the man of the world set a fashion in political character, that at a later day Melbourne and Palmerston successfully were to reproduce. Something therefore may be said

about the statesman, who, more than any other of his contemporaries, may be called the "alter ego" of his royal employer.

During his most famous period, Lord North, then in the full vigour of all his faculties of body and mind, was about forty years of age. His contemporaries saw in his head and face a close reproduction of the features most prominent in the portraits of Pope Leo X.* In stature scarcely above middle height, he was of heavy and corpulent build. Between the father of George III., Frederick Prince of Wales, and Lord North's parents, there had long been relations of close friendship; some persons, who remembered that intimacy, had their own way of accounting for the close resemblance of Lord North's countenance, person and manner to those of the English reigning dynasty. The face of the minister suggested to all who beheld it a caricature of the face of the king. Like the princes of the Hanoverian House, the favourite statesman had a fair complexion, light hair, bushy brows sheltering prominent grey eyes. To a later generation, the interest possessed by Lord North comes from the fact of his having been nearly, if not quite, the first of those well-born politicians whom happy accidents of birth rather than any great predestining gifts of mind or faculties of statesmanship have placed at the head of affairs, and who when once promoted to that position have been maintained in it by a happy art of conciliating personal ingratiation and an aptitude for neither giving nor taking offence,—qualities more useful in practical politics than genius itself. As Prime Minister, he possessed great accidental advantages denied alike to his two predecessors, Lord Rock-

* Sir N. W. Wraxall's *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 361.

ingham or the Duke of Grafton, and not forthcoming in his successors, Rockingham, Shelburne or Portland. The famous minister of George III. had been trained in the House of Commons; throughout his working life he remained in it; he knew it; he humoured it; in these respects, North showed himself the true predecessor of the blunt and upright Althorp, as well as of another titled leader of the same assembly, nearer our day, the jaunty Palmerston. Lord North indeed in point of time and thoroughness heads the list of those who by long years of good-humoured, patient application had perfected themselves in the study of the personal composition, the taste, the temper and prejudices of the popular chamber. During his official years his finger was ever on its pulse; his eye was always alert to watch its outer manifestation and feeling; he read it like a book; he never failed to distinguish between the humour of the moment and the settled purpose of the hour. His aptitude for affairs and his ability were shown in the ease and lucidity of his financial statements. North's budgets interested and delighted the whole House, rallied upon each occasion fresh supporters round him, and go far to explain the intellectual as well as the social ascendency which he undoubtedly contrived to exercise over the House of Commons. In good-humoured insouciance, in readiness of wit, North might be spoken of as Palmerston's prototype. In much the same degree the House of Commons was to both men a theatre for the display of those qualities wherein both excelled, and by which they seldom failed to hit the taste and delight the temper of their audience. It was on February 22, 1782, that General Conway, himself a former leader of the House, moved an Address to the

King deprecating the continuance of the war. Ministers held their own by a majority of one; a little later they sustained what was practically a defeat. Lord North said nothing about resignation, but declared himself ready to give effect to the instructions of the House. Within a few days he came down to the House of Commons. Meanwhile North, weary of the situation, had probably placed his resignation in the king's hands; for any announcement concerning it the House was unprepared; a short sitting instead of an unusually long one had been expected; the ministers' farewell statement kept members at Westminster till the rain fell; passing through Palace Yard, North came upon some political adversaries, wondering how they should get home with a dry skin; he politely bowed them into his own chariot with the words, "It is always well to be in the secret." North, of course, had only just looked in at St. Stephen's to let it be known he had ceased to be Prime Minister. Years after this, when both men were out of parliament, Lord North met his old opponent, Colonel Barré, at Tunbridge Wells. Both men were now nearly blind; both were led about by their attendants. "My dear Colonel," said North, "there are not two men in the Kingdom who would be happier if they could see each other."

Of importance only less than the Prime Minister, more than one other member of this historic administration presided over by Lord North deserves to be brought before the reader, as clearly as the details extant concerning him admit. First, however, it may be well to give some account of the development of colonial statesmanship and its official machinery, since in the seventeenth century a colonial department began to exist. At the end of the year 1660 was

first created in England a separate central colonial administration; this was a committee of the Privy Council for foreign plantations; eleven years later, John Evelyn, the Diarist, mentions his appointment to this Council at a yearly salary of £500; in 1672 the colonial committee was amalgamated with a committee of trade; it was henceforth known as the Council of Trade and Plantations; in 1677 it ceased to exist; its duties were performed by the Privy Council. The machinery thus first definitely organised in 1695 remained in force till 1782, when the Colonial Board consisted of eight members of parliament, each receiving £1,000 a year. From 1748 to 1784, when India passed into the hands of the Board of Control, the Privy Council Committee already described was responsible for our Asiatic Empire as well. Since 1768, the Colonies have been managed by a Secretary of State of their own.* The office of Secretary of State by another title, that of the King's Secretary, seems first to have been known to the constitution under Henry III. During Henry VIII.'s reign, a second Secretary of State was added. Under George III. was finally sanctioned a third Secretary; this appointment was actually made under Anne. The new Secretary had charge of the American Department; of the two other Secretaries, one was practically a Foreign Minister with his jurisdiction lim-

* This arrangement involved, in 1768, the appointment of a third Secretary of State with the portfolio now indicated. After the loss of the American Provinces, Lord Rockingham discontinued the office: it was revived in 1774, directly the post was entirely separated from the administration of the War Office, of which the Colonies were regarded at one time as forming a department; the Colonial Secretary of State became practically the important office it is to-day; its influence was felt throughout every part of the greater Britain beyond the seas.

ited to the Low Countries, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Russia,—generally spoken of as Secretary of the Northern Department, while a Southern Secretary directed France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain. The duties, however, of these offices of State were frequently interchanged; it is impossible, therefore, definitely or permanently to assign the real limits of the duties of each; often too, apparently, some of these offices were for a time in abeyance, then suddenly for a short while renewed. The reign of George III. first introduces us to the professional diplomatist of the modern type in the person of Lord Stormont, who had been alternately Northern Secretary and Ambassador at Paris, and who was reputed greatly to have raised the standard of linguistic proficiency among the younger members of the Diplomatic Service. He himself seemed an imposing figure in the courts of Dresden and Vienna, to which he was successively accredited, personally a favourite with his sovereign and a patient student of the secret or of the conjectural motives guiding the diplomatic conventions of Europe; but his opinions carried little weight in foreign chancellories; he was, in the old-fashioned phrase, less a statesman than a person of quality. The Versailles court was particularly impressed by the imposing manner in which he wore the Order of the Thistle, though he carried himself so stiffly as to inspire a ribald wit with the remark that the English Lord might well have swallowed the Order of the Poker. Very different from Stormont was the Southern Secretary, Lord Hillsborough, whose manners did not want for stateliness, but who enjoyed a European reputation for his urbanity of manner, his graceful turns of phrase, his unfailing readiness of resource.

Neither of these men, however, excited anything like the political or popular interest which centred in Lord George Germain, who was the last Secretary of the American Department, before the office was suppressed in 1782; he has been denounced as dividing with Lord North the entire responsibility of initiative for the Stamp Tax which, introduced by Grenville, began the train of events that lost George III. his American Empire. Such censure seems to a great extent unjust; nor, in considering Germain's relations with the author of the Stamp Act, must one forget that Germain himself filled what was after all a subordinate administrative office, and that Grenville, one of the hardest and strongest statesmen of his time, was also the most impatient of interference even on the part of those above him. He would not therefore have been likely for a moment to have tolerated any suggestion, however deferentially offered by the American Secretary. Further, it must be once more insisted upon that the political principle involved in the Stamp Act had been hitherto sanctioned by the general custom of imperial and colonising nations. To select modern instances only, the predecessors of England as imperial powers beyond seas, Portugal, Spain, Holland and France, had all received tribute from their dependencies. England alone, acting chiefly on the advice of her minister, Sir Robert Walpole, abstained from burdening her colonies with taxation; yet even England had admitted the principle of such an impost when during the Seven Years' War the expenses of the colonial troops had been divided between the home government and the colonists (the Mother Country had provided arms, ammunition, tents and provisions; the Colonies had not only found soldiers,

but had clothed and paid them). At this time, too, Ireland and the East India Company had separate military establishments of their own. The cost of American administration had raised Civil Service expenditure by nearly a quarter of a million. It was not contemplated or intended that the proceeds of the new taxes should go into the British Exchequer; they were to defray the expenses actually incurred in the Colonies and for the good of the Colonies themselves. It is therefore unreasonable to expect that Lord George Germain, holding the precise office he did, should have felt justified in endeavouring to overrule the colonial policy of his chief. The son of the first Duke of Dorset, the American Secretary, had exchanged the name of Sackville for that of Germain. Somewhat the senior of his chief, Lord North, he was one of the finest and handsomest men of his time; he was also one of the most accomplished in whatever pertained to the less known history of kings and courts. His exact and encyclopædic knowledge made his conversation a mine of wealth to every diarist of the period. In breeding and manners a fine gentleman, without being a fop, Lord George Germain was among the hardest workers of his time; he showed an extraordinary power of mastering difficult subjects and complicated papers in a limited time. Unlike most of his associates, he had never been to Eton or Oxford; he had not thrown away his time at Trinity College, Dublin; after taking his degree, he had learned the rudiments of diplomacy in the capitals and courts of Europe; after the English habit, he had prepared himself for the House of Commons and the cabinet by the education of quarter sessions, and of the other employments or sports that were

then associated with the best school of statesmanship. In a word, without being perhaps either a strong or an original man, he was a painstaking official of the class which has made England one of the best governed countries of the earth. As American Secretary, he had comparatively little to do; he did that little in a very gentlemanlike way; he would most assuredly have forfeited his office had he taken upon himself to remonstrate with his sovereign or his chief against that which, judged by the standard notions, knowledge and customs of the day, was so modest and so reasonable a policy as that of the Stamp Act. Of course, too, Lord George Germain was above all things a courtier, on whose acceptability to the king aspirants for honours and titles relied to push their cause. Thus a well-known physician of the day, Dr. Eliot, a Scot, born at Peebles, induced Germain directly to ask the king for a baronetcy; the request was not immediately, but was eventually, granted. "Since you desire it," said his Majesty, "so let it be; but remember he shall not be my physician." "He shall be," rejoined the courtier, "your Majesty's baronet and my doctor." *

The chief act of the first Rockingham ministry had been the repeal of the Stamp Act, carried as it was amid the enthusiasm of the trading classes, indeed of all the great middle class of the country, during the February of 1766. Other measures conceived in the same spirit quickly followed. American trade was fostered by special legislation. General warrants like that under which Wilkes had been

* This is Wraxall's story. There seems to be some doubt whether it should not be more truly told of Lord Melville and Sir Walter Farquhar.

arrested and his papers ransacked—warrants, that is to say, containing no individual name and so authorising apprehension of any one whom the holder thereof may see fit to suspect—were condemned; strong protests were registered against depriving military officers of their commands for political reasons. When, therefore, in 1782, the decisive surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown was followed by the already described resignation of Lord North and the accession of the second Rockingham administration to office, the first business of that Whig government must, it was universally known, be, by recognising the independence of the colonies to end the war on the other side of the Atlantic. The attempt made by George III., by means of the influence which he could directly or indirectly bring to bear on parliament, to secure the politically irresponsible power of the crown, seemed during many years to be more successful than it really was, because parliament and its leaders were discredited by the suspicion or associations of factions or of interested partisanship, and because the king himself understood and interpreted more correctly and fully than his parliamentary ministers the imperial instincts and ambitions of the great majority of his subjects. A protracted period of Whig ascendency had wearied the country with the reigning party, and had created a general desire for a change from Whig to Tory ministers; the phase of national conviction symbolised by Toryism was as real, as deeply seated and almost as widely spread, as the political faith which was of a more popular and liberal kind; the House of Commons stirred no particular enthusiasm. It was the period of royal absolutism throughout Europe; in

France, in Austria, in Spain; in the smallest German principalities the sovereign was as supreme as in the kingdom of the Czar or the Ottoman Empire itself. Nor was it only Churchmen on their promotion, who, speaking of the sovereign as the Vicegerent of Deity, denounced all resistance to him as a sin not less heinous than blasphemy. Great lawyers in their treatment of the subject employed nearly the same tone. From the MS. of Blackstone's *Commentaries,* published after George III. had come to the throne, but used by Bute as a manual for his youthful charge, before the famous work had been set up in type, George III. had learned that according to the principles of the Constitution, the king of England is not only the chief, but the sole magistrate of the nation, all others acting by commission and due subordination to him. He may reject, make what treaties, pardon what offences he pleases; has the sole power of regulating fleets and armies, of making war and peace, of conferring honours, offices and privileges. He alone governs the kingdom; statesmen who conduct his affairs are only his ministers. These views found wide acceptance among the well-to-do classes who, asking the cause of the depression of the royal power, found it in the long exclusion from office of the politicians, traditionally favourable to kingship, the Tories; for since the Revolution of 1688 as a political force, Toryism had been extinguished. Yet the clergy and the gentry were with very few exceptions enthusiastically and consistently Tory in their opinions. So long as Toryism had been associated with Jacobitism it had naturally suffered in the eyes of the working and trading part of the community. The Stuart pretenders, and their periodical attempts "to come by their own again," had interfered with

the business and had militated against the prosperity of the country. Jacobitism therefore had been resented and discredited as a national nuisance. So long as Toryism could be confused with it, the Whigs might rely on having things all their own way. All this was now changed; the failure of the Stuart Rebellion of 1745 removed the last danger to constitutional monarchy; it also left the Hanoverian king without any rival, as in the days of George I. and II., whose claim to English nationality was better than his own; with George III., a true-born Briton as he justly boasted of being, the alien was the Pretender who lived in a foreign country and was slowly committing suicide by fuddling himself with foreign drinks. As a matter of fact, too, George III. did not only succeed uniformly in naming his own ministers wherever he cared to find them; his reign coincided with a great revival of English political life, that was to prove of lasting benefit to the nation, as well as to both the great political divisions into which the State was divided. After his resignation Pitt, never titularly it should be remembered a Tory, in some very famous words, expressed his gratitude to the many gentlemen of the denomination of Tories who had supported the government in the principles of Whiggism and of the Revolution. Before George III. the country gentlemen of England very largely held themselves aloof from parliamentary life. They went to London as seldom as possible. When there, the one place which they specially avoided was the House of Commons. Under George III. these men once more tore themselves away from their family manor-houses and estates, from their dogs and from their guns, when the parliamentary session began, as at that epoch it did often at the

very season, in which the autumn country life and country sports present their greatest attractions. Much, of course, of this change must be attributed to the influence of Pitt, who with Whig materials was forming a new Tory school. Even so, without the personal influence of the king and his persistent resolve to restore the Tories to their natural and historic place in the national polity, Westminster would not have become, as under George III. it did, the real centre of the political life of England. Nor would there have been carried on, during more than half a century, practically without a break, the healthy quickening process which, whether by union or opposition, restored and diffused throughout all classes those statesmanlike activities which find their expression in the English party system.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PATRIOT KING.

Lord North's witty good-humour was never more appositely shown than in his remark on the announcement of his successor's appointment. Reluctantly George III. was compelled to entrust the formation of a new government to the Whig leader, Lord Rockingham. The *London Gazette* therefore spoke in the usual phrase of his Majesty, as "pleased to appoint" that peer, First Lord of the Treasury, and other Whigs equally unacceptable to the court, Lord John Cavendish, for instance, Chancellor of the Exchequer. "They have told me," said North, "I used to issue lying gazettes, but none of my lies was equal to that which now speaks of his Majesty's pleasure," in accepting the party leaders, who were so notoriously the reverse of welcome. The new Premier, a Whig peer of respectable sporting tastes, of quiet manner and of no superficial brilliancy, united the respect of his contemporaries on both sides of the House; by the king, he was neither esteemed for his powers nor trusted for his honesty. Charles James Fox, one of the Secretaries of State, already prospectively nominated for the leadership of the party by the great Whig families, was detested by the sovereign alike for his public principles and private habits. The same lawyer, Lord Thurlow, who had told the king, on making one of his periodical threats, that, while nothing would be easier for him

than to sail in his yacht to Hanover, his Majesty might find it more difficult to return, had been employed by the king as negotiator with the incoming government. Before becoming Lord Chancellor, while still a very young man, Lord Thurlow stood higher in public opinion than any one else enjoying the special confidence of the king. Thurlow's rise at the Bar was largely attributed to the patronage of the stateliest of the fine ladies of the time, the Duchess of Queensberry, the friend of Gay, Pope and Swift. With the king, Thurlow owed his position to the extraordinary assistance which, during more than seven years as Attorney-General, he had given to Lord North. While the American War was at its height, Thurlow's removal to the Upper House became inevitable; that step was long delayed from the fear of its involving the collapse of the party in the Commons; it was only at last consented to by the king, when the future Lord Loughborough, then Sir William Wedderburn, had satisfied the sovereign that he had so far profited by Thurlow's parliamentary example, as to be qualified to become his parliamentary successor. As Lord Chancellor, in two governments, Lord Thurlow realised the highest expectation of his admirers. Fox, during his attacks upon the North government, always excepted Lord Thurlow alone from his charges of incapacity;—"he is able, he is honest, he possesses a noble, independent mind; his situation and treatment by his colleagues correspond with the features of his character; they detest him for his virtues and envy him for his abilities; they thwart and torment him with every invention in their power. But from his great intellectual resources, his unbroken spirit soars above them; manifesting at once his consciousness of the

injuries meditated and his contempt of his enemies." Thurlow's dark complexion, fine and regular features; his demeanour, stern indeed sometimes, but always dignified; his remarkable eyebrows, so often compared to those of Jupiter himself, "cuncta supercilio moventis," fixed on him the admiring attention of every section and individual in the House, before even he could open his lips. Not less impressive than his physical characteristics, were his ever ready and most diversified intellectual resources. Among lawyers in the peers, the aged Lord Camden alone possessed any knowledge comparable with that of Thurlow, while in energy, in acuteness, in powers of argument, in readiness of reply, Thurlow left Camden and every other rival immeasurably behind. Some there were, too, who found in Thurlow not only the master mind of a great lawyer, but the social qualities which shine in private intercourse. That, however, was not the general impression he created;—for in court and in parliament, ruggedness of manner and asperity of address were the more familiar attributes procuring for him the nickname of "The Tiger." Pitt's estimate of this great lawyer was less favourable. "He opposes everything, proposes nothing, agrees to anything." He had been in his most laborious days a man of pleasure and fond of his cups; his convivial habits grew upon him, increased with, perhaps in their turn aggravated, the infirmities of age and temper. Sometimes he met his equal in his inferiors; thus, angry one day at dinner with his butler, he told him "to go to the devil." The servant quietly replied, "Give me a character, my lord. The gentleman would value a character from an old acquaintance like yourself." Among the inferior, com-

paratively obscure, but far from uninteresting persons of the Rockingham administration, should not be forgotten Lord Bathurst, whose ancestor had been created a peer by Anne in 1711, and who, as an associate of Oxford and Bolingbroke, and as a famous arboriculturist, figures in the moral essays and epistles of Pope:—

> "Who then shall grace, or who improve the soil,
> Who plants like Bathurst, or who builds like Boyle?"

It was one of the Bathurst family, created Earl of Apsley, who built the London residence of the Duke of Wellington, Apsley House. Even before the Rockingham ministry of 1782 had been formed, the course of events in America, and the falling away of the whole body of country gentlemen from the statesman, to whom Lord North had bequeathed his opinions and his power, rendered the Tory cause hopeless for the present, and compelled the king to look for agents of his policy in men still belonging to the Whig connection.

When, therefore, during the early days of July, 1782, the sudden death of the Marquis of Rockingham made the first lordship of the treasury vacant once more, the king had no option but to look for a new premier among the sections into which the Whig party had become divided. Of these divisions, the most important was that headed by the late premier, Rockingham himself; to Rockingham belongs the distinction of introducing Burke into parliamentary life. Among the Whigs who had accepted Rockingham as their chief, Lord Shelburne had a distinguished place, but was not universally accepted as leader. The great revolution families, especially the Cavendishes and Charles Fox, looked to the

Duke of Portland as the natural successor to Lord Rockingham in the party leadership and in the premiership itself. The Duke of Portland surpassed all Whig rivals in his territorial power and wealth. He was not, however, personally acceptable to the king, who, when Portland's friends pressed their chief's claims at court, briefly replied that his mind was made up and that he had already entrusted the business of forming a fresh administration to Lord Shelburne.

The first minister of the crown was the least personally objectionable to the king of all the Whig nobles, and, as far as the member of a proscribed party could do so, perhaps approached the position of a court favourite. Early in the reign, Lord Shelburne, then Lord William Petty, born in 1737 and yet in the prime of all his faculties, mental and physical, had been Home Secretary. His particular tastes, aptitudes and experience, which have descended in a remarkable degree to some of his latest posterity, especially to the present Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, formerly Foreign Under-Secretary, attracted Shelburne rather to international, than to domestic affairs. No man of his time had studied continental events more closely under such exceptionally favourable opportunities, or with so accurate a knowledge, gathered during residences abroad, of the chief actors in the continental drama. Charles Fox, who had given much attention to the same subjects, was held, even by his own partisans, never to have equalled Lord Shelburne's acquirements. Among the politicians of the time, none excelled Shelburne in the faculty of quickly mastering, on the spur of the moment, any new and abstruse subjects that events might make of exceptional

interest. Even under Rockingham, Shelburne's exceptional and original knowledge of affairs had invested him with something of the authority proper to the chief of an administration rather than to a subordinate member; systematic industry and conscientiously compiled information were the two instruments of power on which this distinguished counsellor of the king chiefly relied. Whether in opposition or in office, his house in Berkeley Square resembled a department of state, rather than a private dwelling; a staff of clerks or secretaries was constantly employed in copying or epitomising state papers or public accounts. While Lord North still remained in power, Shelburne House had been the rallying and organising centre of the opposition, whose leading members in the House of Commons were Dunning, Barré, a now completely forgotten but in his day most active and influential M.P. (for the Cinque Ports), a certain Richard Jackson, who had a genius for parliamentary strategy, and who was the life and the soul of much of the strategy for which Dunning and Fox chiefly obtain credit. Shelburne was also the greatest patron of art, letters, science, of every sort of intelligence or capacity known to the period in which he lived. The well-known chemist and freethinker, Dr. Priestley, author of one of the many replies to Burke's famous *Reflections* on the French Revolution, had long been among Lord Shelburne's retainers, had accompanied his patron during his foreign travels in 1774, and had afterwards, as literary secretary, librarian or companion, been domesticated at Shelburne House, much after the manner in which, a century earlier, Thomas Hobbes of the *Leviathan* had found his home at Chatsworth. In those economical and financial sub-

jects, always of absorbing interest to Shelburne, Priestley had especially made himself useful. Even in Rockingham's day, no budgets were brought forward without their proposal having been discussed and examined in Berkeley Square. Priestley was the man to whom in these matters Shelburne ever first gave his ear. By those with whom he lived Shelburne was regarded as a model of all social excellence and personal accomplishments; his table-talk was regarded as the best to be heard in English society; into it he was known to distil the results of systematic and encyclopædic reading. Intellectually therefore, as well as socially, and in all the relationships, private or public, of life, Shelburne was distinguished amongst the nobles attending the court of George III. He was not, however, a popular man; most of his contemporaries seem to have disliked or distrusted him, and his sovereign accepted rather than welcomed him and openly spoke of him as the Malagrida of Berkeley Square.*

Not unreasonably, perhaps, George may have secretly distrusted the disposition towards the monarchy of his new premier; the language held by Shelburne in political life about the throne had not been always that of courtiership; while it was a political supporter and personal friend of Shelburne, Dunning, who brought forward in 1780 the famous resolutions that "the power of the crown had increased, was increasing and must be diminished." Between Shelburne and Fox, Shelburne's rival in all that pertained to foreign policy, jealousy deepened into enmity. While the earlier negotiations for peace with America were going forward,

* The original Malagrida was a Portuguese Jesuit, much talked about at the time.

the two statesmen were employing agents of their own in Paris, and were almost openly working against each other. Nor does William Pitt seem to have liked better than did Fox the new premier. To Shelburne, as head of the government, Pitt owed his introduction to official life as Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet when the time came for Pitt to form an administration of his own, he neither asked, nor seems to have been expected by any one to ask, his old chief to join his cabinet. The explanation of Lord Shelburne's faculty of exciting distrust was probably his manner. His face, as it still lives in the painted portraits of the period, is that of a person constitutionally reserved, sarcastic and cynical. His demeanour towards all was studiedly urbane and deferential; it may, therefore, by the force of contrast with the character of the man, have produced an impression of insincerity. The distrust, thus generated, obscured Shelburne's great gifts, and prevented his country from profiting as it might have done from the talents of one who was not only one of the shrewdest but the most enlightened politician of his age. For on all economic questions, Shelburne's perception of the tendencies of his time has been justified conclusively by later events, while in international relationships he was one of the earliest to recognise the arguments in favour of Free Trade. Shelburne also did not increase his reputation for simplicity or candour by posing as the incorruptible patriot, by affecting a fine contempt for the politician's arts and by declaring of himself, in language too obviously borrowed from Chatham, "that he knew nothing of parliamentary management and threw himself for support on the people alone."

It was not, perhaps, easy or possible for a courtier of George III., especially for one devoting his time and talents to gain a personal ascendency over that king, to retain much of the simple honesty of nature; for Shelburne, it was doubtless inevitable that, in dealing with the sovereign's weaknesses, he should have pitted himself against his master, in those arts and qualities the most removed from candour. Such are the weaknesses which must explain criticism like that of Lord Loughborough, who knew something of state intrigue, and who declared that Shelburne's art had a strong twang of a boarding-school education and resembled much more a cunning woman's duplicity than an able man's *adresse*.

The first commission given in 1784 by the king and the country to the Rockingham government had been an arrangement with the American colonists, on the basis of the recognition by England of United States Independence; that recognition was reserved for the administration of Lord Shelburne actually to concede. The concession was embodied in the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles in 1783. That American Independence had become inevitable, no one seriously doubted, long before the official authority of Rockingham had descended to Shelburne. It is, however, perfectly certain that many among the most distinguished Englishmen who supported the American claim, as well as a number of the colonists who may have ceased to resist it, did not at this time contemplate, and never acquiesced in, the complete severance of the British connection.

The Treaty of Versailles in 1783 was the result of no unaided victory by the colonists over the Mother Country. Without help to America from France, Holland and Spain, the events that led up

to the signing of the Treaty would not have taken place. At the time the loyal colonists, still a most powerful minority, regarded the Treaty much as in the American Civil War of the next century the Confederates might have looked on at the breaking up of the Union, if arms and funds from Europe had poured across the Atlantic in quantity sufficient to make the Southern States a separate nation. Of course it is true that on the English side German troops strengthened the Mother Country. It could not have been otherwise, for George III. was himself a German as well as a British sovereign; from the first, too, the contest for maintaining the unity of his Empire, in which the sovereign embarked, had involved Cis-Atlantic as well as Trans-Atlantic States. Franklin, Washington and all the American leaders had left nothing undone to identify the enemies of England in the New World with those leagued against her in the Old, and to win success for colonial arms, by all the agencies which Europe could enlist against the nation that, single-handed, was withstanding a continent in arms. Slow to learn by experience and to understand the true genius of the English colonial system, George III. like others of his period may be called. With the evidence before him, and judging colonial facts by the conventional standard of his age, quite intelligibly he clung to the conviction that duty to his subjects and fidelity to his Coronation oath left him no alternative but to resist in arms the disintegration of his Empire. That was the opinion also of the most perfectly sane and enlightened statesman of the time Lord Chatham never ceased to condemn the policy which had brought about the American revolt; after the war had begun, he continued to advocate a

reconciliation, but no man yielded to Chatham in his determination to maintain the unity of the British possessions beyond seas, or in the strength of his refusal to abandon the sovereignty of England over them. In 1776 the Whigs showed their disapproval of the American War by ceasing to attend parliament. In 1778 Chatham made his last speech denouncing the Duke of Richmond's motion to recognise American Independence.

His governors and agents in America may have misled the king as to the general feeling of his American subjects, but in the very year of the Treaty of Versailles, George III. had empowered, under his seal, Royal Commissioners to offer the colonists representation in the Imperial Parliament, to entitle them to elect their own governors as well as to maintain Free State legislatures. The king himself thought he had reason to be sanguine as to the result of these overtures. His proposal, however, was so received and dismissed by the American Congress as almost to justify the statement that it was practically ignored. The protest made by American writers against the English employment of Indians during the war may be met by the fact that at the very moment of the use of merciless savages being condemned by the American leaders, General Washington was enlisting in his own service all the Indians he could obtain, offering them bounties for every soldier of the king's troops they might capture. Moreover, in the same year which witnessed the Declaration of Independence, exactly a month before that was voted, and, as it would seem, at the same sitting of Congress, the English king was denounced for bringing on the American frontiers the barbarians whose one rule of warfare is an

indiscriminate destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. Immediately afterwards Congress proceeded with the resolution, raising 2,000 Indians for the Canadian service. If these natives were never forthcoming, a partial explanation may be found in the fact of the Massachusetts Legislature having, twenty years earlier, enforced the policy of extermination of the aborigines. As regards the extent to which the thirteen revolting Colonies were financially helped by foreign states, the American application made to France in 1793 for a loan of 6,000,000 livres became the occasion for a specific statement of the pecuniary relation between the French and the United States governments. The total indebtedness of America to France is estimated in this document as 34,000,000 livres. Of that sum about 10,000,000 seems actually to have been lent by Holland and to have been guaranteed by France. Before the pecuniary aspect of the Anglo-American struggle is dismissed, some notice should be taken of the treatment by the English government of the very considerable loyal minority that never took up arms against the English king;—the number of the Loyalist claims submitted to parliament in 1783 was 3,225; the money value of these claims for restitution was, in English money, £10,358,413 ; of these claims 2,291 were actually allowed and practically adjudicated upon; the total amount of satisfaction given was in English money rather less than £4,000,000;* that sum, therefore, in the estimate of the cost of the contest must be added to the expenditure of lives and treasure, as well as to the loss of British territory sustained at the Peace between the two countries. The Versailles negotiations ratifying

* For the official estimates, see Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 267.

the Shelburne government's acceptance for England of the peace conditions to which the Rockingham government had consented consisted of two parts, first the formal Peace with the United States, secondly the Treaty between Great Britain, Spain and France. Rodney's brilliant victory in the West Indies, and the brilliant way in which more recently England had compelled her enemies to raise the siege of Gibraltar, secured for Britain terms less ruinous than a little earlier had seemed probable. While in the manner just explained many of the American Loyalists had received some compensation for the calamity they sustained in the severance of the tie between themselves and Britain, many more calling themselves United Empire Loyalists refused to live under the United States government. Settling in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Upper Canada, their personal attachment to George III. deepened by the territorial losses inflicted on that king, and receiving his special benediction for themselves on their allegiance, they became the nucleus round which gathered those sentiments of enthusiasm and devotion to the English flag which were to prove preliminary to that chapter, still happily incomplete, of the Imperial narrative which records the revelations of gratitude, pride and affection, striking, as these qualities do, the keynotes in the relations between all the British monarchs subsequent to George III., and that remnant of their American possessions, whose determination never to separate itself from the old country has at no time wavered.

The international arrangements mentioned in the foregoing general terms require to be examined somewhat more minutely. The situation can scarcely be intelligible, unless the purely personal incidents,

relationships and issues, accompanying the formation of the Shelburne government in 1782, are kept well in the foreground. The first point to bear in mind is that the Whig chief, Charles James Fox, was now beginning his long course of rivalry with Shelburne's Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Pitt, Lord Chatham's son. The great difficulty against which, as premier, Lord Shelburne had to contend, was that Fox, before retiring for a season in dudgeon from parliament, not only refused to co-operate with the premier of 1782, but at home and abroad set himself up as a rival power to the prime minister. While Shelburne and his official staff were arranging abroad the preliminaries of peace, Fox employed ambassadors of his own to undo or to complicate the work of the responsible ministers of the crown. Fox had from the first made himself the organ of the Whig malcontents who remonstrated with George III. against choosing Shelburne, on the ground that the natural and proper successor to the late Lord Rockingham, both in the leadership of the party and in the headship of the administration, could be none other than the Duke of Portland. The reason first alleged by William Pitt for opposing Charles Fox, who had previously been his private friend, was the refusal by Fox, save upon impossible conditions, to co-operate with the king's new ministers; the account given by Fox himself of the affair was briefly to the following effect: "George III. had," said Fox, "ordered him to write to Grenville, while the latter was visiting Paris, authorising the offer of American independence, not as a condition of, but also as a preliminary to, the conclusion of peace." Yet after this Lord Shelburne and some of those nearest to him had, according to Fox, officially

used language inconsistent with these peaceful resolves of the sovereign; especially did Shelburne use his influence with the king to make American independence conditional upon the United States acquiescing in many preliminary details of a contentious character. Hence, urged Fox, "finding myself ensnared, betrayed and all my confidence destroyed, I quitted the situation, in which I could not remain with honour and safety." But Fox, it must be remembered, desired above all things to stand well with the masses and to pose as the friend of peace and the general well-wisher to all humanity. It was not easy for him to combine that benevolent rôle with his active resolve to upset the Shelburne administration which was then engaged in making the peace that Fox professed to desire. The alleged abandonment of the American loyalists by England, the cession to the American insurgents of many fortified places which there seemed no reasonable prospect of their capturing by arms, and the gift to European States, especially to France and Spain, of so many of the English possessions in Europe or Asia, had deeply irritated all classes throughout the kingdom, and offered too tempting a theme for ministerial denunciation to be easily resisted by the brilliant but not always scrupulous politician, whose abstract apostleship of peace, equity, good-will and good-nature did not mitigate his concrete enmity to the minister Shelburne, for filling that place which Fox and his friends desired should have gone to the Duke of Portland.

The Canadian episode, in the international arrangements for concluding the war, now being carried forward by the advisers of the king, is a little obscure.

The strict facts are as follows: in 1782 North resigned; he was succeeded by Rockingham, with Fox and Shelburne as Secretaries of State; Shelburne's position prevented his exclusion from any combination that might be formed; he knew privately Franklin, the American Commissioner at Paris. While, therefore, the formation of the ministry was still in progress, Franklin wrote Shelburne, urging the conclusion of an early peace between the two countries. To these overtures Shelburne, then, be it remembered, together with his ill-wisher, Rockingham, Secretary of State, replied by despatching to Paris a Scotchman named Oswald, who had the confidence of himself and of his cabinet colleagues, to discuss with Franklin the preliminaries of peace. Oswald was received favourably by Franklin, but told that America could not now act independently of France, and that no step could be taken before the arrival of Franklin's two brother Commissioners, Adams and Jay. Oswald's Scotch shrewdness seems, however, to have been no match for the diplomatic reserve of Franklin, who, professing to know nothing and refusing to commit his country to any proposal, thought matters might be advanced if England would voluntarily hand over to America Canada, with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and would indemnify certain American subjects for losses sustained in the war. It will not, of course, be forgotten that, so far from the Americans, during their struggle with England, having obtained possession of Canada, their attempt to conquer it had entirely failed; the Canadians themselves had consistently refused anything like incorporation into New England, and had declared their invincible objection to any policy which could

at all weaken the Canadian connection with the English crown. Lord Shelburne's representative appears to have left a general impression on Franklin that some at least of the American demands might be conceded. Nothing, however, was even conditionally settled at the moment. Before the two negotiators separated, Franklin endorsed a memorandum of the interview, with a statement that the words were merely those of conversation between Oswald and Franklin, the former not having authority to propose anything, nor the latter to state any offer apart from his absent colleagues. Shelburne may or may not have communicated Oswald's memorandum to the Prime Minister, then Rockingham; he certainly did not do so generally to his colleagues in the cabinet or specially to the other Secretary of State, Fox. After Rockingham's death and his succession as premier by Shelburne, the subject of Oswald's mission appears to have been reverted to during the earliest days of the new administration. By Shelburne, after he had succeeded Rockingham, Oswald was authorised to tell Franklin that the new premier would seek to use his opportunity for the promotion of an honourable peace, but that of such a peace the essential conditions were Free Trade between the United States and England, the payment of all debts due to British creditors before the war, and a guaranteed assurance that the loyalists should not suffer in property, or in any of the rights of citizenship, from their fidelity to England, but that all losses sustained by them should promptly be made good. The hardships on the American loyalists inflicted by the Treaty of Versailles have been shown by the latest instalments of American

diplomatic correspondence* not to be due to any special neglect of Shelburne, whether acting as Secretary of State in the Rockingham government or as chief minister in his own government, but to have arisen from the great advantage placed in the hands of Franklin and his French colleague, Vergennes, Louis XVI.'s Foreign Minister, by the jealousies and misunderstandings between Lord Shelburne and Charles James Fox; the genius of the great Whig made him an instrument equally mighty whether of evil or good. Shelburne knew from the first the American loyalists to be representatives of the convictions held by an immense section of the American people; that section, in fact, which, if France had not flung the weight of her sword into the Anti-English scale, would have constituted a clear majority. Among other causes contributory to the English sacrifice of loyal subjects across the Atlantic is mentioned by Mr. Lecky (IV. 266) the influence of men such as Franklin's son, himself a loyalist to the last; those of whom the younger Franklin was a type denied the loyalist claim on England, on the ground that the loyalist misrepresentation of opinion had, if not actively brought about, seriously prolonged the war, yet appreciably protracted it.

Such, briefly put, were the events, immediately preceding or actually accompanying the declaration of American independence; the entire series of incidents was of the utmost importance to the sovereign personally and to those about him; in the spring of 1775, the war opened with the action at Lexington. We may now, therefore, pass to the effects of the struggle upon the sovereign himself, as well as upon

* Vol. II., pp. 453, 7, 8, 207, and Sabine's *American Loyalists*, pp. 94–7. Quoted by Lecky, Vol. IV., p. 265.

the political system, of which to this day the sovereign is the centre and mainspring. Fox wished the Duke of Portland and not Lord Shelburne to be at the head of the government, which came into existence on the death of Rockingham in 1782; the king insisted on sending for Shelburne; Fox, therefore, resigned his Secretaryship of State; he even induced his political friends to follow his example in absenting themselves from parliament during several sessions. Here again Whig impatience was to enable George III., amid the applause of the nation, first to achieve a fresh victory over his Whig enemies, and so eventually to redeem with the country the influence and popularity he had for some time seemed to be losing. While the Whigs who followed Fox were, like Achilles of old, sulking in their tents, they were removing the last obstacle in the way of the king's personal ascendency over his cabinet; they were doing what was wanted to complete Shelburne's mastery of the situation. The ministerial vacancy which Fox's withdrawal had created was at once filled by William Pitt's appointment, not indeed to the exact office occupied by Fox, but to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, which had before been filled by one of Fox's friends, Lord John Cavendish. Thus, by the force of the circumstances that the king's personal preference for Shelburne had set in motion, were driven into mutual rivalry and into party camps the opposite, as it might seem, of those for which they were naturally fitted, the two great political antagonists during the latter half of George III.'s reign. Fox, a man of fashion and pleasure, wanting any deep sympathies with the popular cause, was thought by the contemporaries who knew him best just the politician, if tamed by office, to have

executed the royal will and to have repressed all democratic innovations. Pitt, on the other hand, had an ambition as great as his pecuniary resources were slender; but for Fox's quarrel with Shelburne he would have long sat upon the Opposition benches; there he might have been converted into a strong enemy of court and king; for to those who knew him best Chatham's son seemed to possess by nature no slight admixture of the republican spirit, softened and qualified by court favour and employment though his temper was. After the American War, the political curtain rose upon three distinct factions: first, the party of Lord Shelburne and the court; secondly, that of the still surviving Lord North, with his Tory friends; thirdly, that constituted by Fox and his handful of Whigs. From the first it was manifest that none of these little companies during any considerable time could singly keep a majority in the popular House. Each coterie therefore prepared to strengthen itself by external support. Fox, when approached by the king's agent, would support a government formed much as the present was, with the important exception that the Duke of Portland should immediately replace Shelburne as premier. Lord North, the shrewdest parliamentary tactician of his age, was disposed to be a little less impracticable. The one thing he at once decided to be averted was the co-operation of Pitt and Fox. These negotiations between sovereign and statesmen formed the prelude to the political episode, which did not end till the coalition between Fox and North had ousted Lord Shelburne from power. The chief movers in these political operations were some of Lord North's relatives and some of the special partisans of Fox, notably Lord

Loughborough, Colonel Fitzpatrick and an ancestor of the famous Liberal Whig of modern days, Mr. Adam, who so often marshalled in the lobby Mr. Gladstone's men to victory. Towards the close of February, 1783, the combined forces of Whig and Tory malcontents moved a resolution worded so as to express the popular dissatisfaction with the American Peace in the shape of an amendment to the address to the throne. Lord Shelburne at once resigned; a month later, with the Duke of Portland as nominal premier, the coalition government of North and Fox came into power. Critics of both parties have exhausted the vocabulary of vituperation in denouncing that fusion of forces which for just eight months held the hands of the king, from which the son of the statesman, whom George III. so disliked, dreaded and trusted, Lord Chatham, was to deliver his sovereign. The Portland, Fox, North combination weakened the parties, whose leaders had coalesced, as well as scandalised the national sense of political morality. Wilkes and the mob mingled their voices with the court party in expressing horror at the new union.

Yet, judged by the political and moral standard of the time, the arrangement had in it as little of atrocity as of novelty. In the first place the homogeneity of the cabinet had not then become a doctrine universally accepted or even understood. The principle of the present combination might have been described as initiated or sanctioned by the king himself; the administrations that had in the past coerced the Whigs for the king had been of most heterogeneous composition. Lord North's government, and that only during a part of its history, was the one exception to this rule of hybrid adminis-

trations thus far recorded. In the same way was the ministry of the Younger Pitt, which in 1784, as we are now about to see, was to expel the Fox and North administration, scarcely less of a coalition than the government it replaced. The son of Chatham had been brought up in his father's creed, which nominally was that of Sir Robert Walpole—Orthodox Whiggism; nor did Lord Chatham ever titularly identify himself and his followers with the Tory party to which, after the secession of Pitt's "patriots or boys" from the Walpole Whigs, the Chatham Whigs practically would have seemed to belong. The new premier, William Pitt, had himself begun official life as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Shelburne's Whig ministry. Like his father, the changes and chances of party politics had compelled this young statesman to loosen the hereditary connection with Whiggism, and, in exactly the same way as his father had done before him, to co-operate with George III. in the royal efforts to secure an administration composed not on party principles.

The hostile resolution which in the February of 1783 had thrown out the Shelburne administration expressed the discontent of the House of Commons less with the American portions of the Versailles Treaty than those clauses that in India restored Pondicherry and Karikal to France and Trincomalee to the Dutch. The majority against Lord Shelburne was more the expression of a passing popular irritation than a deeply-seated disapproval of the international policy whose principles the Versailles Peace had embodied. Very different were the conditions of national sentiment and political history under which the Fox and North coalition, nominally presided over by the Whig Duke of Portland, was to

fall, and in falling to make way for the mixed Whig and Tory government of William Pitt. Dr. Johnson put the matter with his usual shrewd sense when he bluntly said, "that it had become a question whether England and India were to be ruled by the sceptre of King George or by the tongue of Charles Fox."

The coalition ministry of 1783 had seemed likely to deal a fatal blow at the plans and the power of the king; as a fact, it was to be instrumental, not in securing the royal overthrow, but in placing the sovereign, during the years that he remained capable of reigning, in a position far stronger than up to the present he had filled.

Before narrating these domestic events in detail, it will be convenient briefly to trace the course of Indian events which were to react so injuriously on Fox and North, but which were to make possible the great career of the Younger Pitt. This Indian retrospect is the more pertinent in the present place, because India is the country whose events most impressively illustrate the two kinds of difficulties with which the builders of the British Empire in all parts of the world have had to deal. Whether in the East or West, on the English or on the American side of the Atlantic, the Empire makers in the reign of George III. were confronted, first, with the rivalry of other European nations; secondly, with the opposition to the English advance, offered by the native chiefs and tribes. The earlier of these periods closed with the Peace of Paris between England, France, Spain and Portugal, in 1763; by this treaty England kept her American conquests, including Canada, gained considerable advantage in the West Indies, but restored Pondicherry to France. Dur-

ing the same epoch as this, the English formed the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal; that throughout India, English influence began to reign without any European rival. The East India Company was finally founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century; in 1600 the Indian adventurers were formed into a chartered company with a trade monopoly granted first for fifteen years, made perpetual in 1609, though revocable at three years' notice from the government. In 1497 the Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, had discovered the Cape of Good Hope; shortly afterwards, Portugal, then in the zenith of its maritime, military and intellectual pre-eminence, defeated the native Rajahs on the western coast of India from Goa northwards to the Persian Gulf. In 1580 Portugal at home was prostrated by Spain; the Portuguese foreign empire collapsed. Meanwhile, in India itself and the Spice Islands, the Dutch had established factories; in other ways they had effectively contested with Portugal the monopoly of the Indian trade. The English India Company of 1600 may, therefore, be said to have arisen on the ruins of the Portuguese and in emulation of the establishment of the Dutch power. During many years the English traders were harassed by interlopers who invaded the monopoly of the English Company, and whose chief factories were at Surat, near Bombay. In this way there was constant friction, not only between the English company and trespassers on its rights, but between the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch. In 1640 the Rajah of the Carnatic allowed the English company to become masters of a deserted Portuguese settlement, St. Thomé. After this the strong fort of St. George was erected; Madras became an important

town. In 1662 the marriage of Charles I. with Catherine of Braganza secured the town and island of Bombay for England. Speedily Bombay replaced Surat. Meanwhile all or most of the European rival powers had factories upon the Hooghly, a channel of the Ganges delta. The English changed their manufacturing positions and established their business headquarters on the river at a place known as Chutternuttee. The great Aurungzebe, most famous of the Mogul Indian Emperors, was then reigning; from him, in 1698, the English obtained the village, where they built Fort William and founded the Capital of Calcutta. A little later than this, a rival to the established English company, called the New India Company, was founded by some traders, possessed of great influence in the House of Commons. Ten years after the building of Calcutta, in 1708, these corporate rivalries were adjusted; the two English companies coalesced; a capital sum for its operations of £3,200,000 was formed. This money was lent to the government at five per cent., the right of borrowing an additional million and a half being conferred on the corporate product of the amalgamation between the older and the later societies. The privileges conferred originally in 1700 were prolonged first in 1712 to 1736, then to 1769, afterwards in 1743 to 1783. The three settlements of Madras, Bengal and Bombay formed separate residences or seats of government, mutually unconnected, each governed by a President and Council. Portugal, partly from the decay of national qualities and from its enmity to Spain driving it into an English alliance, had practically ceased to be a rival to Great Britain; Holland, too, from fear of France approaching more and more closely to England, was no

longer a very formidable competitor, restricting as it did its commercial operations to the Islands, and leaving the Indian mainland to Great Britain. Aurungzebe, the great Mogul Emperor, who had generally been favourable to England, died in 1707, having established his supremacy over nearly the whole Indian mainland and peninsula. After his death began the gradual disintegration of the Mogul Empire; that dissolution has been compared with the collapse of the Western Empire of Charlemagne. Henceforward the Mogul system lacked the coercive and cohering authority of a central power; the provincial governors, if professing allegiance to the court of Delhi, became practically independent. The break-up of the Mogul Empire not only gave England its great opportunity in India; it was the signal for the appearance of a most serious rival to the English power. Such was the French company, first established under Louis XIV., with one settlement, Chandernagore, upon the Hooghly, with another settlement, south of Madras, Pondicherry. The French company also possessed the island of Mauritius and the Isle of Bourbon, won respectively from the Dutch and Portuguese. In the year 1744 the English and French companies first became active competitors. At that time Labourdonnais at the Mauritius and Dupleix at Pondicherry managed the Indian power of France. Dupleix, an ambitious man of far-seeing genius, intently studied the Asiatic situation created by the decline of the Mogul Empire after Aurungzebe. The Hindoo Rajahs were, he saw, becoming independent powers; the Mahrattas, on the other hand, were organising their daily increasing strength; the various native tribes were prevented

by internecine feuds of growing bitterness from combining against any third power. Hence Dupleix's conclusion that the future of Hindustan belonged not to native warriors or princes, but to some Western conqueror. India had ceased to be, as Dupleix saw, a field for Dutch enterprise. Portugal was a waning power; henceforward the mastery of Hindustan must lie between England and France. Having surveyed the position, Dupleix proceeded to plan his policy. Evidently the first thing to do was to make the officers of the French-India company nominal feudatories of the governing power; thus without conquest or war, French officials would be incorporated into the polity of Indian princes, whose soldiers by French industry and intrigue might be converted into Gallicised Indian troops, perfectly versed in all the details of European warfare. Dupleix himself was not to succeed with his policy; its later adoption by England, with the results that have followed, have long since abundantly shown the statesmanlike soundness of the French project. The course of events beyond his power to foresee or control and the jealousies which soon broke out between Dupleix and his colleague, Labourdonnais, were the immediate causes of the failure of the great design. Some considerable victories were gained by Dupleix and the native troops whom he had disciplined in the arts of European warfare; but in 1748 the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which concluded the War of the Austrian Succession, one of whose articles was the restitution of conquests on both sides, doomed Dupleix's great ambitions to disappointment. Even thus, however, part of the grand conceptions of the great Frenchman might have been realised but for the arrival on the scene of Robert Clive, who at once

gave some relief to besieged Trichinopoli, and who later turned, by a series of battles, the tide of war completely against the French. At the midsummer of 1757, the victory of Plassey secured Bengal to England. Meanwhile the beginning of the Seven Years' War turned the Carnatic into an Anglo-French battle-ground. At first the French general Sully was successful; he took from the English and destroyed Fort St. David; he also retook Arcot; but in 1760 the French rule came to an end, the battle of Wandiwash gave the English the same power over Madras as Plassey had given them over Bengal. Nor did the example of Sully tend to encourage the military genius of France to emulate his achievements; he was ignominiously recalled by his government, and finally died by the guillotine. Portuguese, French and Dutch trading stations were still maintained at Pondicherry, Chandernagore and Chinourah, but the real control of the country had passed into English hands.

Meanwhile, not less disastrous than military reverses, scandals in the affairs of the East India Company were perpetually recurring; its administration was the subject of a parliamentary inquiry in 1772. The moral sentiment of England, whose revival was largely due to the personal influence of George III., was shocked by the exposure of a series of Anglo-Indian intrigues and crimes. Certain measures for changing the government of a great dependency were at once passed; others were in immediate prospect, when the relations developed between the two great parties in the State at home caused India and its affairs to become chief factor in the parliamentary relations between the political forces now practically controlled by William Pitt and Charles Fox. The

India House in London had long been the scene of the quarrels and intrigues of competing factions. Clive's great enemy in the court of directors was a man named Sullivan, whose tactics delayed for some time Clive's return to India, but who, in 1765, was overpowered by Clive's partisans. In 1770 famine caused the East India Company to apply to parliament for a loan of £1,000,000. Lord North, then Prime Minister, complied with the request, on the condition of the company's accepting the Regulating Act. Among the advantages secured by this measure to the company were the remission of their annual tribute to the State; leave given to the company to export the bonded tea, whose arrival at Boston had not a little to do with the outbreak of the American War. On the other hand, the interest payable by the State to the company for the money it had advanced was limited to six per cent. till the £1,000,000 loan was paid, and afterwards to eight per cent. Other provisions of North's Regulating Act were the establishment of a Supreme Court upon the English model; the initiation of the Bengal Governor, as Governor-General of India. So was first heard of Warren Hastings, who thus became the earliest Governor-General of India, with General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Sir Philip Francis as members of his Council. Into the details of Warren Hastings' administration it is not necessary to enter. Before public attention was fixed upon the impeachment of the first Anglo-Indian Governor-General in Westminster Hall, parliament was occupied with other matters than those which, by causing the defeat of the coalition on Fox's India Bill, were to make William Pitt Prime Minister. As early as 1783 a powerful parliamentary representative of the Anglo-

Indian interest had introduced an India Bill that proposed an enlargement of the Governor-General's prerogative, and the future selection of noblemen of high position, known to be independent of party, for the post. Later in the year that witnessed the introduction of this measure, the coalition chiefs, Fox and North, framed their famous proposals on the same subject. The abuses to be reformed arose from the fact that a private society, established originally for trade alone, had become the administrators as well as the civil and military controllers of an Asiatic Empire, responsible for the welfare of millions of natives and constantly engaged in great and costly wars. The functions of trader and supreme ruler, as George III. had been among the first to insist, were manifestly incongruous. As a commercial body, the company had to consider the dividend of its shareholders. As supreme over a vast congeries of different races, whose creeds and interests were irreconcilable, it could not permit its administrators and servants to take, as the principles of their policy, commercial consideration alone. From the crown had been originally derived, it was now argued, the India company's supreme and vast authority; to some central body, coequal in dignity with and not less superior to suspicion of mercenary motive than the crown itself, this power ought to revert. As a consequence Fox proposed that the whole authority of the company should be vested in seven commissioners, to be nominated by parliament and to hold office for four years. Afterwards vacancies were to be filled up by the Crown. These seven commissioners were also to hold the whole property of the company; the detailed management of this property, as well as of the com-

pany's trade, was to be vested in a subordinate council of directors, each of them holding £2,000 East India stock, and acting under the orders of the superior council; the members of the inferior Council were to be elected by the court of proprietors.

The first objection taken to this bill was expressed in Lord Thurlow's words, "that by its provisions the king will take the diadem with his own hands and place it on the head of Mr. Fox." The Indian patronage represented a money value of more than £3,000,000. Such power, it was urged on behalf of the crown, could not even temporarily be withdrawn from the king; the seven members of the executive and subordinate council had been named by Fox in the bill; they turned out to be, all of them, supporters of the coalition government. Apart from the political authors of the measure, the bill really had no friends; the sub-council, proposed for the management of the company's commerce, was resented by many of the shareholders as an infraction upon the chartered rights of the company, as repeatedly defined by Act of Parliament and especially sanctioned by the terms of this charter, as recast only three years since in 1780. Popular feeling was as much against the proposed legislation as were the commercial and political experts. A cartoon representing the chief promoter of the bill as Carlo Fox Khan, crowned and riding on a State elephant, exactly expressed the feeling of the moment. Though the bill itself was passed by increasing majorities through the House of Commons, its appearance in the Hereditary Chamber drew from George III. the familiar threat to retire to Hanover, rather than to submit to such a robbery of his pre

rogative. Two of his most trusted and resourceful counsellors, Lords Temple and Thurlow, at once suggested to the sovereign a simple method for procuring its rejection by the peers. The two lords submitted to the sovereign a memorandum describing the measure as a plan to take more than half the royal power, and by that means to disable his Majesty for the rest of his reign. The king, on his part, signed his name to a letter empowering Lord Temple to say that whoever voted for the India Bill would be considered by the king as an enemy. If these words were not sufficient, Lord Temple was to make any addition to them he deemed necessary. The king's friends were, however, already so well organized, and so numerous in the peers, that no fresh creation was necessary. On December 17, 1783, the bill was rejected in the Upper House by nineteen votes. The victory gained by the monarch, now, with good reason, exultant in the consciousness of popular support, was emphasised by the fact that Lord Stormont, closely connected as he was with the coalition ministry, himself voted against the bill.

George III. would scarcely have risked an unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative, unless he had conclusive reason to believe in the support of the great majority of his subjects against the coalition's infringement of his sovereign rights and in the national preference over any abstract, political right or privilege for the concrete fact of a monarchy which represented better than anything else did the national unity to the national mind. The House of Commons, in a series of motions, condemned the king's conduct. George III. himself treated the defeated ministers with every conceivable mark of high-handed contempt. He sent messengers to the

secretaries of State, refusing to see them personally and desiring them to deliver up their seals of office, not in person to himself, but through their under secretaries. It is generally agreed that the outgoing ministers of the coalition throughout these transactions had shown some want of dignity and tact. The king's interference with the India Bill in its passage through parliament; his determination, by whatever means, to compass its defeat, and the way in which upon wavering members of both Houses the royal influence was being brought to bear, had been no secrets long before Lord Temple received from the sovereign his credentials to rally the peers against the measure. Some days before the decisive division in the Upper House against the bill, Fitzpatrick, the well-informed and versatile Irishman who had been prominent in securing the *rapprochement* between Fox and North, writing to a friend, Lord Ossory, minutely described the steps being taken by the sovereign; he declared that the public opinion of the time compared this exercise of the prerogative to the arrest of the five members by Charles I. The Commons passed at least one resolution affirming the need of reform in the government of British India, and affirming that whoever might advise his Majesty to reject the measure now before parliament was an enemy to his country. The ministers, however, with whom, as constituting the executive, rested the right of practical initiative, did nothing; they were therefore held generally to act as contributories to their own overthrow. They knew the commission given to Lord Temple by the king; they made no protest against it; they neither censured nor impeached Temple; still less did they take the very obvious step of expressing their disapproval by send-

ing in their resignation. The country was quick to note, and to draw its inference from, the errors of omission or commission. The king at least knew what he wished to do: he had the courage to address himself to the work, by showing in resource and strength his superiority to his minister and to, at least, one Parliamentary Chamber. He ranged on his own side the feeling of the country, and, so far as such a sentiment could then be gauged, the feeling of the whole British Empire as well.

What the popular eye discovered were two competing forms of official autocracy: one that of an imperious party, the Whigs, under a gifted but unprincipled leader, Charles Fox; the other that of the king. The English people may not have liked either of these alternatives. Of the two they preferred the absolutism of a crowned individual as the easier to meet and in the long run the less dangerous, to the autocracy of a political faction who were supported by a majority in the representative house. More than once before the defeat of the coalition, George III., discerning in the son of Chatham the same great qualities which he had alternately dreaded and admired in his father, had pressed the highest office on William Pitt. These offers had always been declined; now, in 1784, they were accepted. Under a premier, as yet barely twenty-five years old, came into existence an administration, really as composite as that which by the odious title of the coalition had just fallen, amid popular execrations. Pitt himself was First Lord of the Treasury, adding to that office, at the king's special request, the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. He had no cabinet colleague in the House of Commons with the exception of the Treasurer of the Navy, Henry Dundas,

afterwards Lord Melville; he was the only member of his administration in the popular chamber. Pitt's President of the Council was the Whig peer, Lord Gower. As Lord Chancellor, Thurlow formed a connecting link between the two great political connections. The Duke of Richmond, in that day a Whig peer, and a strong reformer, entered the government as Head of the Ordnance. The leadership in the peers had been reserved for the king's chief instrument in getting rid of the coalition; but Temple refused to join Pitt on the ground that his time must be more than occupied already by the defence of his own conduct, which, in view of the coming parliamentary criticism, he had to prepare. About the middle of December, 1784, Pitt first appeared in the House of Commons as premier. As leader of the popular chamber he seemed a minister without a party; his sole supporter was the king. The process of the new prime minister's re-election, as one who had received a place of profit under the crown, occupied more time than had been expected. The interval had been turned to good account by the late ministers, especially by Fox and North. The former of these had in 1783 become more completely master of the House of Commons than had been any parliamentary leader before his time. Fox could not assail the new government on the ground of its legislation, proposed, but not yet officially announced. He did, however, taunt most effectively and humorously the new government, whose head Erskine had just described as hatched by the heat of his own ambition into a full-fledged cabinet minister. The Whig leader affected to regard Pitt "as a mere creature of secret influence, the child of the backstairs." Henry Bankes, Pitt's Cambridge

contemporary at the College, then called Pembroke Hall, the one man, besides Dundas, to whom the premier gave his confidence, replied to these attacks on the absent minister, adding that if opposition pressure was brought to induce the king to prorogue or dissolve parliament, Pitt would at once resign. Fox contemptuously dismissed these protestations, not, as he said, because he believed Bankes to be other than an honourable man, but because on all matters growing out of the relations between the sovereign and his new chief adviser "secret influence" rendered it impossible for a second Aristides to tell the truth. Pitt's notoriously feeble health was declared by Fox the justification for such a mere youth's acceptance of office; the king, that is, having resolved to gratify the ambition of the son of his old Councillor, Lord Chatham, recognised there was no time to be lost. Pitt himself had either not yet completed his re-election, or his ministerial programme; he was not, therefore, often in the House during the progress of these debates. The wittiest things said during the discussion were by Lord North in his entertaining and good-humoured defence of his coalition with Fox. North illustrated this point by an apposite anecdote about two men not on speaking terms, shut up in the Eddystone Lighthouse, letting from their reciprocal enmity the fire go out, and beholding the English Navy dashed to pieces rather than lend each other any assistance, or break the silence of mutual hate. We, said North, on the other hand, considered the preservation of the vessel of State our primal duty; we agreed, at all events, that the fire in the lighthouse should not be extinguished. Sallies like these, as at all times they have done, put the House in a good humour with such an old parlia-

mentary favourite as North and with itself; they did not, however, make the retrospect of Fox's defeated India Bill the less unfavourable; they did not for a moment bring nearer to fulfilment Fox's prophecy, which it is difficult to think the prophet himself believed, that in six weeks his Majesty would be constrained to dismiss Pitt, and to send for the rejected coalitionists again.

A glance may now be given to the personal qualities of the premier, whose abilities and success had kindled to white heat of animosity, the fire of Whig resistance. Pitt's was a noticeable figure, physically tall and slight, but with little about it of elegance or grace; his face was not ennobled by the intellectual expression which to his admirers redeemed from sensual coarseness the countenance of Fox; it was only when, in moments of deep feeling, Pitt's eye seemed to animate his whole frame, that the other features of the man lighted up and radiated intelligence. The contrast between the parliamentary manner of Lord North and of Pitt was not less marked than the difference of personal aspect between Pitt and Fox. Lord North, when leader, used to enter the House of Commons with the same smile on his face, with the same jaunty, easy air, and with the same affability to the members on both sides of him, as, in the Victorian Age, marked the appearance of Lord Palmerston himself. Directly he had crossed its threshold, Pitt marched up the floor of the House, his head erect and thrown back, never casting a look to the right or the left; absorbed in his own thoughts, he bestowed no mark of recognition, either on friend or foe; his deportment throughout debate was cold, stiff; his icy reserve was never thawed to geniality. He never seemed to need, but always to repel, any

approach to friendly confidence on the part of those about him. Those, however, of Pitt's contemporaries who had seen him as a fellow-guest at some country-house in the partridge season, who had walked with him, gun in hand, over the stubble, or who had been invited to visit him when Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports at Dover, brought back to Westminster very different accounts of the self-contained, smileless and austere premier. The portrait presented by these happier reminiscences of the man is that of the most delightful of companions, the most alert of benefactors, and the most heart-winning of counsellors. In a lax age and a loose society, Pitt showed as much coldness, apathy or indifference towards women, as was displayed by Charles XII. of Sweden himself. It is now indeed known from Lord Ashburne's monograph on him that this was not the real Pitt, that he was, on the other hand, keenly sensible to some feminine charms, and that one of his lifelong sorrows was his failure to find a wife in Lord Auckland's daughter Eleanor. Pitt's one failing was his fondness for port wine. The most famous physician of the day, Dr. Bailey, declared that without this stimulus Pitt could not have got through his work without laudanum or opium.*

Ridicule, however, proved as harmless to Pitt in

* The remark with which Pitt's great rival summed up a conversational discussion of the merits of different vintages was: "This, I know, all wine is good." Pitt himself might have indorsed it, for at the suburban house of his friend Jenkinson, the future Lord Liverpool, Pitt freely indulged in other vintages, as may be seen.

> "How, as he wandered darkling o'er the plain,
> His reason drowned in Jenkinson's champagne,
> A rustic's hand, but righteous Fate withstood,
> Had shed a Premier's for a robber's blood."

his parliamentary position, or in his relation to the sovereign, as did the invectives and votes of want of confidence of Fox himself. Of all George III.'s statesmen, since his father's day, the son of Chatham was the first who entirely combined the confidence of his king and the enthusiastic belief of the country. Conscious of that strength from the first, he knew himself able to defy the two threats of the Opposition, that of forcing the dissolution or of stopping supplies. The king, by the respect his moral character and his political courage commanded, had thus far held his own. The secret of the influence of his earlier minister, Lord Chatham, was also that of his Majesty's success, a high-toned morality and patriotic ambition. Chatham's son, who had just delivered the sovereign from his Whig masters, soon showed himself to possess the same kind of power, resting, too, upon the same foundations as that which had belonged to his father. A poor man with less than £300 a year of his own, Pitt had moved the national admiration by refusing for himself a valuable sinecure, the Clerkship of the Pells, and giving it to his old opponent, Colonel Barré. The new premier had already announced his intention of dealing with India. That measure, urgently pressed for by George III., was delayed by the motions against the government, which, on six occasions, Fox brought forward. Having wound up the session in the House of Commons, Pitt advised the sovereign to dissolve parliament. The English people are not always favourably impressed by the sight of a statesman presenting himself as the indispensable deliverer of the nation. Pitt's courage, address and knowledge of public business overpowered all considerations hostile to him. The elections went strongly in his favour. Of the

supporters of his parliamentary rival, 160 called "Fox's Martyrs" lost their seats. In Yorkshire Pitt's personal intimacy with Wilberforce triumphed over the combined Whig territorial influence of the county; in Westminster, Fox himself, with the help of the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire, only succeeded in getting the second place on the poll. Even so Fox did not then actually obtain possession of the seat; more votes had been registered than there were electors; a scrutiny was therefore necessary. While that was going on, Westminster remained without a representative; a place was found for Fox in the Orkney and Shetland boroughs.

In 1784 it had thus become practicable for the king to remind his premier that the business which had placed him and his colleagues in office was legislation for India that had caused the Coalition to miscarry. The bill, as introduced in this year, was chiefly the work of Pitt's particular confidant and friend, Henry Dundas, Treasurer of the Navy, afterwards Lord Melville—a politician, who, though not himself of great importance, fills a large place in the political life of the time, was intimately associated with William Pitt, and upon different errands was employed confidentially and habitually by the Prime Minister, as well as by the king. He should not, therefore, be dismissed here with the mere mention of his name. Dundas had been for some time a member of the House of Commons, when William Pitt delivered the second or third in that series of his earlier speeches, which first attracted great attention. The shrewd Dundas at once detected the new power that had asserted itself in political life; "he shrank," he said, "from stating to the speaker's face the facts of which, were he absent,

truth itself would compel the utterance; therefore he must felicitate his country and his fellow-citizens on the auspicious union and splendid exhibition of the abilities witnessed that evening. With first-rate talents were blended high integrity, a noble independence of mind and a most persuasive eloquence." At the time these words were said, there seemed no immediate prospect of the subject of the compliments coming to high honour; within little more than a year, Pitt had become Prime Minister, Dundas, from being Lord Advocate of Scotland, had a seat on the Treasury Bench, close to that of Pitt, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Shelburne. When, in 1784, Pitt had become Premier, Dundas, though not in high office, might be spoken of as his second in command,—the one person in whose society the Prime Minister unbent, and to whom he imparted his inmost opinions on affairs. No two men in manner, in taste, in temper, could have been more unlike; between the ascetic and misogynist Pitt, of figure, tall and thin, of habit, most reserved, and the genial, slightly corpulent Scot, with his fondness for all the good things of this life,* with his

* The periodical writings, the diaries, memoirs of the day, and the Rolliad abound in references and in anecdotes about Dundas as man of pleasure and convivial companion of the Prime Minister:

> "Some like the dark, the fair, the short, the tall,
> As for our Hal Dundas, he likes them all."

One of the reasons given by Dundas for Pitt's not marrying was that the statesman was already wedded to his country; if Dundas ever saw an inclination in Pitt to observe any lady with favour, he at once told his patron that his own heart was already fixed upon this particular fair, whom he still trusted not to lose. Candidates for Pitt's favour, applicants for pension or place, never approached the great man directly, but always through his friend, and if Dundas

easy affability to all about him, no contrast could be more complete. The chief feature in the new measure for reforming Indian government, produced by Pitt, with the undoubted help of Dundas, was the recognition of the strength of the India House, so mistakenly underrated by Fox. Whatever the hands concerned in drafting the measure, it was practically the joint work of the prime minister and the king. Henceforth, Indian affairs were to be administered at home by a political department of State called the Board of Control, consisting of six privy councillors, including one secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. All business, however, was to be carried on in the name of the India Company, which retained most of the patronage; in the case, however, of the Indian commander-in-chief and of other high officers, the appointments, though made by the company, were to be ratified by the crown. Fox sprang to his feet at the close of Pitt's remarkably able speech introducing the bill, and denounced vehemently all the ministerial proposals quite as much for what they did not profess to do, as for what they were. The measure was not regarded even by its authors as settling the question whether Pitt's first India Bill was in fact rejected

made their cause his own, seldom without success. Pitt's position in England has been compared, not perhaps unreasonably, with the position of Pericles in Athens. Both men depended for their popular power upon their political genius, courage and oratorical power. Both men, too, during the later years of their life, experienced private troubles, almost as severe as their earlier glory had been great. The Athenian statesman was overcome with grief at the fate of his friend the sculptor Phidias, who ended his days in a debtor's prison. The English Minister mentally and physically suffered scarcely less from the miscarriage of his one friend. Henry Dundas, in matters like those of the Attic artist, chiefly of a financial character.

by parliament. In the next session, when his hands had been strengthened by the general election, he brought in another bill; that measure, with some modifications, was carried (24 Geo. III. c. 25); the system, which it introduced, continued until in 1858 Lord Palmerston transferred the government of India from the company to the crown. The essential feature of Pitt's second India Bill was the practically absolute power vested in the king's nominees who constituted the Board of Control. That body was unpaid and without patronage; but it was charged with the superintendence, the regulation, the amendment of the whole civil and military rule of the company; with the examination of all its accounts, instructions and despatches. The Board of Control was even under certain circumstances to transmit orders to India, independently of the East India Company's directors; while in other cases, a committee of secrecy, formed out of the directors, might be authorised by the Board of Control to send orders to India, without communicating with their colleagues on the Board. A tribunal was established in England for trying abuses or offences taking place in India. The company's servants were to declare upon oath and under severe penalties the amount of the property they had brought from India. The measures were obviously open to two lines of attack, first on the ground of the enormous power vested in the Board of Control, in other words, in the Home Executive, which was in effect the king; secondly, because of its somewhat perplexing dualism, by which the directed and commanding power was given to one body and the responsibility for these instructions being carried out was vested in another. Pitt at once accepted many Whig amendments.

Eventually the clause providing for the inventories of their estates to be given by Indian officials was not enforced; the method of dealing with offences committed in India was recast. The affairs of India were not disposed of by parliament without a period of constitutional excitement and struggle, at which it will be desirable to look with a little more of attention to detail. Some of the issues now raised had so much in common with those involved in the Wilkes contest, as to be scarcely intelligible without some recapitulation of the earlier episode.

A face marred by several deformities or deficiencies, such as the loss of nearly all the teeth; a squint that friendship itself could not soften down into a cast of the eye, and yet of an expression often so pleasing as to make the man himself a popular companion, even to go far towards justifying his boast, that "given half an hour's start, he would back himself as a lady-killer against the handsomest man in England;"—such are the features and attributes most prominently associated with the man who, at retort or repartee, was without a rival among his contemporaries.* Since the death, in 1751, of Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, whose companion Wilkes had often been, no figure in the social and even political life of England had attracted so much attention as John Wilkes, in point of ability, of unscrupulousness and ability, the first in order of time, and by far the greatest of the professional notoriety hunters that have since been a commonplace in England as elsewhere. In the notorious number 45

* The most stinging of these, unfortunately, can only be remotely hinted at. Such was the terrific rejoinder which Lord Sandwich brought upon himself by an insulting question addressed to Wilkes.

of the *North Briton*, Wilkes had used language concerning the king's speech on opening parliament, for which, as for a libel, the Secretary of State, Lord Halifax, procured his committal to the Tower, on a general warrant, "one, that is, in which no name is mentioned, so as to admit of its enforcement against any one." Treason, felony and breach of the peace were the only charges that as yet had been held to exempt an M.P. from the parliamentary privilege securing him against arrest. To the Court of Common Pleas Wilkes now appealed. Lord Chief Justice Pratt ordered his immediate release; at the same time general warrants were declared unconstitutional. At the meeting of parliament, November, 1763, the House of Commons, then ready to vie with the House of Lords as the instrument of the king's wishes, voted the *North Briton,* No. 45, to be a false, scandalous and malicious libel, ordered it to be burnt by the common hangman, and resolved "that privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to obstruct the ordinary course of law, in the speedy prosecution of so heinous an offence." Such a resolution was, of course, an instance of *post-factum* legislation; the popular chamber was at once contradicted by the popular voice outside. The man whom the Commons had condemned as an offender was acclaimed a martyr and hero by the mob; a fragment of the offending journal, rescued from the flames, was carried in triumph through the streets; in the city, a jackboot and a petticoat, the emblems of Lord Bute and the mother of George III., were burned. A little later Wilkes, who had withdrawn to Paris, was expelled. This the House of Commons had a perfect right to do, though the vote itself may

have been precipitate and ill-advised. Lord Sandwich meanwhile had further inflamed the Houses against Wilkes by producing some sheets of his privately printed *Essay on Woman*. That was the incident which, as Walpole has related, when the "Beggars' Opera" was being performed at Covent Garden and the place had been reached where Mac-Heath says, "That Jenny Twitcher should impeach me, I own, surprises me;" the whole audience rose and cheered; for ever afterwards Lord Sandwich was known as Jenny Twitcher. That the parliament which had condemned and expelled Wilkes might show its impartiality, it also about this time voted to be burnt by the hangman a volume to which its attention had been drawn by Lord Lyttleton, called *Droit le Roi*, meaning a defence of high prerogative. At the dissolution of 1768, Wilkes having returned from France, unsuccessfully stood for the City of London, but a little later was returned by large majorities for Middlesex. Some time elapsed before Wilkes was permitted to take his seat; during that interval he was imprisoned; the mob never wavered in their support of him, against premier, parliament and king; for Middlesex, he was elected and re-elected four times, till at last, in 1782, the Commons' resolutions invalidating these elections were cancelled, and Wilkes took his seat.

If the Wilkes episode had produced some popular feeling against the king, that was little in comparison with the loss of reputation, of power, as well as of popularity, which it had inflicted upon the House of Commons. Hence, in the Wilkes business, the king really found an unexpected ally in the House of Commons itself. Nor in certain incidents that were now to come, and that centred round Indian

government, can a greater mistake, one more advantageous to George III. and to Pitt, or more damaging to the Opposition, be imagined, than that which Fox and the Whigs were about to commit and prolong. In the Wilkes' case, the House of Commons had assumed a power, which did not constitutionally belong to it, and which contravened the wishes of the people; this had brought parliament into humiliating conflict with public opinion out of doors. After the overthrow on his Indian policy, Fox went on to employ all the resources of genius and of faction to drive Pitt from office without an appeal to the constituencies. The attempt not only failed, but recoiled disastrously upon its makers. Fox was popularly weakened and discredited. Pitt was confirmed in his position as the trusted minister both of king and people. From all sides addresses thanking the sovereign for dismissing the coalition poured in. Pitt's progress through the streets to receive the freedom of the city resembled a triumphal march; the great provincial towns, hitherto Whig strongholds, fell away from Fox; the opposition in which he and North were now united against the king and Pitt completed the ruin of reputation and influence that for each of these two the coalition had begun. Lord North, owing in the past his strength to his championship of the historic essentials of the constitution, had hopelessly lost his popularity with the Tories by joining Fox. Fox himself, by his efforts to withdraw the decision on the administration of the day from the constituencies, had alienated the masses, not less fatally than he had offended the sovereign, by practically denying the royal prerogative to choose ministers or to dissolve parliament.

Now were about to occur events uniting George

III. and his great minister by still closer ties. During the summer of 1788, George III. had not been in his usually strong health; some twenty years earlier, in 1765, his mind had already been affected; it was not till the late autumn of 1788 that the earlier mental malady recurred in full force. During November the king became worse; all the royal functions remained in abeyance. The sovereign's recovery was from the most favourable point of view uncertain. The Prince of Wales, the future George IV., was estranged equally from his father, from his mother, from his father's ministers generally and in a special degree from Pitt. The summons of a change of government, right as they had been, after the defeat of the coalition ministry, were now renewed with more than usual plausibility and force; it even seemed to be possible that Fox and Pitt, sinking their personal differences, might consent to serve in the same cabinet, perhaps under such a chief as the Duke of Portland; but Pitt consistently refused to resign his post, or to be a party to the taking of office by any of those Whigs whom his royal master so notoriously and cordially disliked. Pitt was naturally a sanguine man; he always believed in the king's restoration to health; now had been taken his decision to postpone till the latest possible date the question of a regency, and when that subject called for settlement, to propose as regent the Prince of Wales, subject to restrictions to be fixed by parliament. Carlton House, where the Prince of Wales lived, had long been a social centre for the Whig Opposition, whose leading members, Fox and Sheridan, now seemed likely to be summoned to replace Pitt. But at this moment Sheridan, a special favourite at Carlton House, was the only leading member of the

Opposition in town. Fox was in Italy, where he neither wrote nor received English letters, and had only once looked at an English newspaper,—and then to see whether he had lost or won his bets on the Autumn Newmarket meeting. The Whig chief therefore knew nothing of the king's illness, but Sheridan by his assiduous attention at Carlton House had served his party as well as himself. After some little time, a messenger, sent by the Duke of Portland, fell in at Bologna with Fox, who, travelling night and day, was back in London by November 24. The court, all approaches to it, all social or parliamentary sets, were honeycombed by intrigue. Lord Thurlow, whose personality has been already sketched in these pages, feared the star of Pitt might be sinking, and to maintain himself upon the woolsack, used every art to ingratiate himself with the Prince of Wales, as patron of the Whig party.

Parliament, on Pitt's motion, was now standing adjourned from November 20 to December 4. On December 3, the Privy Council met at Whitehall, to investigate the state of the king. Twenty-four councillors belonged to the Whig Opposition. The sworn medical testimony was, that though the monarch remained incapacitated from business, his illness was not in itself incurable, though of a duration which none could predict. A little later in the month, Pitt proceeded to disarm his opponents by taking parliament into his confidence. He invited it itself to examine the king's doctors. That was done by a committee of twenty-one members of parliament, nine of that number belonging to the Opposition. George III. was now at Kew, undergoing an entirely new treatment prescribed by Dr. Willis, a new practitioner who had long dealt with such cases most suc-

cessfully and had already produced some improvement in the sovereign; many, however, regarded Willis, who was also a clergyman, as a quack. Nearly all the other doctors endorsed his view of the probability of recovery at no very distant date. Shortly after this, commenced the difference of opinion between Pitt and Fox, as to the steps to be taken while the royal indisposition continued. The Whig differed from the Tory leader in his resistance to further reference of the king's state to parliament, declaring the Prince of Wales already to have as clear and express a right to take over the government as if the crown had already undergone a natural and perfect demise. On the other hand, Pitt asserted that to deny the right and sole competence of parliament to appoint a regent was treason to the constitution. This argument produced from Fox the retort that parliament acting without the king, who was one of the three estates, was constitutionally incompetent for executive or even legislative acts. A settlement was promoted by the Prince of Wales himself declaring, through the Duke of York, that he had too great a regard for the parliamentary principles which had seated the House of Brunswick on the throne to claim the inherent right in himself to the regency, advanced on his behalf by Fox. Never before had the twofold character of the British monarchy as an hereditary and a parliamentary institution been brought out in such strong relief. The arguments urged on either side, those of Pitt or those of Fox, did but express in different language one or other of these two aspects of the national sovereignty. Public opinion was decidedly on the side of Pitt and the king. On the one hand men saw a virtuous monarch suffering, though not, as they hoped, incurably, under

the immediate hand of God, a patriotic, capable and loyal minister at one and the same time maintaining his sovereign's rights and the constitutional principles on which those rights rested. On the other hand were the self-seeking and unscrupulous rival of Pitt, Fox, whose attempt to secure office by his iniquitous India Bill, parliament as well as the country had reprobated, and an unnatural and undutiful son of the blameless sovereign, as profligate as Fox himself, desiring for his political councillors the associates in his vicious pleasures. Eventually the question was settled by the person and court of the king being placed in the queen's hands, and by the appointment of the Prince of Wales as regent, under certain drastic restrictions.* The first of these limiting proposals was, that the regent should have no power to bestow peerages, except on members of the royal family of full age; the second restriction dealt with patronage, declaring the regent should have no power to grant any reversion or any office or pension for any other term than during his Majesty's pleasure. The third condition was, that the regent should grant no part of the king's real or personal estates, except as far as related to the renewal of leases. The regency resolutions and their accompanying restrictions were carried through parliament rather clumsily and with some delay by a double process. When by February 13, 1789, the entire bill had finally passed through the House of Commons, the king seemed on the high road to

* Thomas Moore's epigram, one of the best in the English language, on this subject is not perhaps so generally familiar as to disqualify it for quotation :

"A strait waistcoat on him, and restrictions on me,
A more limited monarchy could not well be."

recovery. The House of Lords stage of the measure was interfered with by the medical report of the king's convalescence, causing Thurlow to declare the impossibility of pressing forward the Regency Bill any further. So matters continued at a progressively improving rate. By February 27 the king was well enough for the bulletins to be discontinued; by March 10 the parliamentary session was formally opened by commission in a speech announcing that his Majesty had resumed the exercise of his royal authority.

These events had given Fox and his Opposition associates the opportunity of crowning to the weakening of their popular power the long series of mistakes, into committing which their hostility to the king and even more their animosity against Pitt had betrayed them. The nation had been scandalised sufficiently by the reports, doubtless many of them exaggerated, concerning the behaviour of the king's sons during their father's illness beneath his roof. To the irreparable discredit of these sons, but especially of Fox, they now contrasted with this behaviour the constitutional loyalty and personal allegiance to the sovereign of Pitt. The ascendency over the king acquired at a very early stage of his improvement by Dr. Willis was as remarkable as it was enduring; all the influence of that medical man was thrown into the scale of Pitt. The letters in which the sovereign, now restored to health, conveyed his thanks to Pitt, were alike in conception and expression model expressions of sincere, unaffected and dignified gratitude. The first minister had long attained a position, greater even than that ever touched by his father, Lord Chatham, in his prime, and such perhaps as no English minister had ever

yet filled. All the attacks and intrigues of the Whigs against the sovereign had now recoiled upon their makers or promoters. Since the first days of the Restoration, when, as in a previous chapter has been already shown, both parties, every section, practically every individual member of parliament, vied with each other in their enthusiasm for Charles II. and his house, no English monarch had ever evoked so deep and natural an outburst of popularity. None of the earlier members of the Hanoverian Dynasty had ever gone near to doing so; the anti-royal sentiment provoked during the sinister period of Bute's influence had been dispersed for ever; any clouds by which, as some had thought, during the gravest crises of the American war, the crown would be overcast, had been dissipated. During a period of nearly two months, part before and part after the State thanksgiving at St. Paul's for the king's recovery, the whole of England surrendered itself to demonstrations of sustained gratitude and joy. Unsuggested by court authorities, not organized by municipal effort, the distance between Highgate and Clapham, between Greenwich and Kensington, blazed with illuminations, from the costly devices of great mansions and well-to-do tradesmen, down to the farthing candles of cottagers and of the itinerant venders of street wares.

Notwithstanding the gratitude and confidence with which throughout his life George III. regarded Pitt, the monarch and the minister were not entirely at one upon all matters of State policy. Like his father, Pitt was naturally a parliamentary reformer. In his earlier days he brought forward repeated motions in favour of a more popular and representative franchise, anticipating as these did several of the

proposals actually embodied in later acts of parliamentary reform. The dislike by George III. of any approach to a democratic electorate caused the statesman to turn his reforming zeal into new channels. Before these are specified, must be mentioned one parliamentary change under George III., approved, if not personally accomplished, by Pitt, which was destined deeply to influence the whole course of the nation's socio-political life and relations. Even before the Hanoverian era, the tendency of the social life of the London season to synchronise with the parliamentary session was increasingly marked. In those earlier days, however, parliament usually met in November; the older session and season did not therefore quite correspond as to time with the season and session as they are known to-day. After Pitt's first administration, the Houses were not summoned until January, 1785. That date continued to be observed. From George III.'s selection of Chatham's son as his chief counsellor may therefore roughly be dated the custom of English parliamentarians and of English society withdrawing from their country-seats when rural nature is at its best; then first it became fashionable to pass the early spring and the summer in the great city. The temper promoted if not created by the example of George III. and of his court was eminently favourable to all changes appealing in any way to the now educated moral sense of the public. Immediately after, in 1785, George III. had frowned upon Pitt's parliamentary Reform Bill for disfranchising thirty-six rotten boroughs and of dividing the seats thus set free between the counties and London, the minister contrived to purify the national administration by an Act to which even the king consented, establish-

ing an audit of the government accounts. Hitherto, jobbery and corruption honeycombed all the public departments; under the single item of packthread for fastening up State papers, Lord North received an annual allowance of £300.

Cruising once in the royal yacht, George III. descried in the offing two large vessels, which he observed soon to be surrounded by a flotilla of small craft. One of the king's personal peculiarities which conveyed an undeservingly unfavourable expression of his mental powers was a nervous habit of reiterating to those about him the same question. His curiosity, once excited now, secured him the information that the larger ships were laden with tea; this the smaller received and deposited at different points along the shore; thence it was distributed throughout the country, without ever paying duty. Spirits were smuggled in the same way. Of the total of the two consumed, the contraband was estimated to be nearly as much as that which passed the revenue officers. The king, having become, in the manner described, personally cognisant of the abuse, did not resist, if he did not actually stimulate, Pitt's method of dealing with it and generally of discouraging smuggling, first, by lowering the tea and spirit duty; secondly, by extending the limits of the official cruise of the revenue cutters to a distance of four leagues from the coast. The deficit to the revenue caused by these reduced duties was made good by a house and window duty, known as the Commutation Tax. A pupil of Adam Smith, Pitt, unsuccessfully tried to improve Anglo-French relations by commercial treaties; he postponed to this work even those Indian reforms, that the fall of the coalition government had devolved upon his ministry. Pitt introduced

his proposals of paying off the National Debt, which at this time amounted to £250,000,000; a sinking fund of £1,000,000 was to be applied yearly to buying stock; the stock thus accumulated was to be held by Commissioners; the process was to continue until the stock thus held equalled the amount of the debt and so extinguished it. The fallacy involved in this policy of borrowing at a high rate of interest to pay off debts at a low rate is said to have been pointed out by the Prince of Wales, the future George IV., to his father; it was certainly exposed in the House of Commons by the prince's two boon companions, Sheridan and Fox. During Pitt's life the annual £1,000,000 was, however, set regularly aside; in 1807 it was dropped; the whole scheme was formally abandoned in 1828. How Pitt's reforming temper was changed by the outbreak of the French Revolution, and by the political panic which that great convulsion spread throughout Europe; how a statesman, unlike his father, Chatham, born to be a peace minister, was by the irony of events forced to pass the residue of his days in framing and executing the war policy against the might of Napoleon, which was the legacy of the French Revolution to England;—these things scarcely come within the scope of a narrative dealing, primarily with George III., and but incidentally with the politics and the historic events with which his sovereign position brought him into relations. The profound impression upon the English mind produced by Pitt's loyalty to the king during the illness already described strengthened the position of the minister for the rest of his life. It enabled him, among other things, to carry during the first year of the nineteenth century the legislative union of

England and Ireland. It also made Pitt, while he lived, the only possible premier of his party; the brief interval of Addington's government, in 1801, served but to emphasise the paramount national necessity of Pitt's return to power. Now, however, the health of the king was to affect the policy and position of Pitt in a manner very different from that in which the statesman had been influenced by George III.'s first illness. For the full benefit to be realised from the Irish Union Act of 1800, Pitt had always looked to Roman Catholic Emancipation as the immediate sequel of his policy. Of that George III. would not hear; the king even attributed to it the recurrence of the mental malady, originating, as it seemed to do, in nothing more severe than a cold in the head, that was permanently to incapacitate him from reigning and was to end only in the death of George III., January 29, 1820.

CHAPTER XII.

CROWN, COURT AND COUNTRY UNDER THE NINETEENTH CENTURY GEORGES.

"It was really a mighty pretty procession. The little princess, just turned three years old, in a robe coat covered with fine muslin, a dressed close cap, white gloves and fan, walked on alone and first, highly delighted with the parade; all those on the terrace stand up against the walls to make a clear passage for the royal family the moment they come in sight. Then followed the king and queen, no less delighted with the joy of their little darling. The Princess Royal, leaning on Lady Waldegrave; the Princess Augusta, holding by the Duchess of Lancaster; the Princess Elizabeth, led by Charlotte Bertie, followed. The king himself had preceded this little company." Such is Fanny Burney's picture of a promenade of George III. and his family after an early dinner at Windsor. Fanny Burney's friend happens to be walking abroad at the same time; she stands to leave the way clear for the royal party; the king at once stops to speak to Mrs. Delany;* the little princess pouts out her lips with the sweetest smile in the world to be kissed by the old lady, in whose hands she places some verses,

* Chiefly remembered to-day from her friendship with Miss Fanny Burney, she was by birth (1700) a niece of Lord Lansdowne, married in 1743 to the Rev. Patrick Delany, an Irish clergyman. She chiefly lived at Windsor, where she died, 1788.

which that morning she had written in her own room. These lines, described by Thackeray in his *Four Georges* as more touching than is often better poetry, end as follows:

> "When folly's gay pursuits are o'er,
> And I could sing and dance no more,
> It then occurred how sad 'twould be,
> Were this world only made for me."

It was his grief at the early death of his little princess that in 1810 brought on the second illness of George III., which finally disabled him from reigning, and which caused another Regency Bill modelled on that of 1788 to be passed, and the Prince of Wales, now very soon to be George IV., to discharge all the duties of royalty. George the Third, indeed, always showed himself not only a pattern for husbands but a model for fathers. Shakespeare's "Lear" himself was not more sorely tried by his children than was this exemplary sovereign; no individual did so much, by the purity of his court, of his own life, as well as by his personal excellence in all private relationships, to improve the tone of English society and to encourage his subjects to persevere with the royal example of purifying their homes and existences from the vices which had tainted the whole nation under the two predecessors of this good man. Next to his daughter Amelia, the king had loved best of his children the Duke of York. George IV. was to effect the transformation of Brighthelmstone in Sussex into fashionable Brighton. George III. had already visited the Dorsetshire fishing village of Weymouth; at Weymouth the Duke of York used to see his father, whose roof was too small to accommodate the son; the king therefore erected for him a portable house, where the prince

grieved the monarch by only remaining one night, because, as the son said, of important London engagements, the nature of which the king could but too accurately conjecture.

If, politically, the reign of this self-willed, conscientious sovereign was in part a failure, socially and morally considered, it not only accomplished the ruler's object; it bestowed upon the country at the time, it transmitted to posterity afterwards, benefits not to be exaggerated. The private example of George III. enlarged and exalted the popular conception of royalty by imparting to it ethical, even spiritual qualities that are to-day ennobling elements in the national idea of royal excellence or duty. An analogy might be traced between the position of George III. and of his subjects beyond seas. The English constitutional monarchy had, under George III., outgrown the Whig leading-strings that since 1688 had directed it. The colonies, though the monarch and his most trusted advisers at first perceived it not, had reached a stage in their development when their earlier and entire subjection to the mother country was an anachronism impossible to be prolonged. The particular difference between George III. and the Whig politicians who considered themselves the founders of the later monarchy was not that the sovereign asserted and they denied the right of the crown to choose ministers independently of the House of Commons majority. George III. never entirely refused to listen to the constituencies. The contention of Whiggism against the crown was simply this: the Whigs professed their willingness for the king to decide which of the two parties in the State was to be in power: in return they demanded that the personal composition of a particular

ministry should be left, not to the sovereign, but to the party leaders themselves. The best illustration of what is now said occurred on Lord Rockingham's death in 1782. Then, as has been already seen, George III. recognized the Whig majority in the country, and consented to the continuance of the Whig government. When, however, the leaders of the predominant party went beyond this and insisted on nominating in the Duke of Portland their own premier, the king asserted his prerogative. He curtly told Charles Fox and his friends that on this point his mind was decided, and that as a fact he had already entrusted the formation of the government to Lord Shelburne. While the king knew and stood by his own opinion, his Whig adversaries were divided amongst themselves; the Chatham Whigs were at issue with those led by the Russells and composing what was called "the Bloomsbury gang." While Lord John Cavendish and Charles Fox insisted on Portland, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Chatham's son, William Pitt, the future minister, wisely accepted Shelburne.

A little later, indeed, the king, who previously, less by any action of his own than by a loyally complacent vote of the House of Commons, had been in the Wilkes business brought into collision with the democracy, or at least with the demagogues, maintained Pitt in power against hostile majorities in the Commons. Fox and his friends demanded either Pitt's immediate resignation or a dissolution. The grounds on which George III. refused both these demands, if not what would be called strictly constitutional to-day, were, according to the usage of the age, not entirely unconstitutional then; they admitted of a simple justification. The king knew,

what the Whigs ignored, that, in spite of unfavourable divisions in the Commons, the country at heart supported his minister who had overthrown the Fox and North coalition. Why, in 1783, the king sent, not for Shelburne, but for Shelburne's Chancellor of the Exchequer, is not, as some have thought, surprising. In the new and popular era of politics on which the country was seen by the king to be entering, George III. perceived the expediency of his first minister being a commoner rather than a peer. In 1783, George saw the beginning of a greater contest with the Whigs than any he had yet known. He had reason, as has been shown above, to doubt Shelburne's absolute fidelity to himself, and, above all, that statesman's capacity to withstand pressure from outside. Shelburne, too, was associated in the popular mind with intrigues and factions of George III.'s earlier days. Pitt's record was absolutely clear. The 1783 election, in the words of Lord Nelson, was not a victory, but a conquest. The old Tory party had been destroyed by Pitt the elder. The old Whig party was now to experience a like fate at the hands of Chatham's son; the younger Pitt stands forth as the most impressive figure of his time if only from his defeat of the unpopular and unscrupulous combination of office-holders, who had wished to force their India Bill on the king. That achievement not only accorded with the king-craft of George III.: it was heartily approved by a nation that had long wearied of more than half a century's Whig ascendency.

Since Dr. Sacheverell's impeachment for theological Jacobitism by the Whigs, since the mob in Palace Yard cheered Queen Anne for being High Church and Tory, the Whigs had been out of sym-

pathy with the mass of English people; the Tories were a national party. The sovereign's dismissal in 1710 of the Whigs followed by the accession to office of Harley, of St. John and others was received with a degree of national satisfaction, which presaged the popular admiration at the courage shown by the third George in his long encounter with Whiggism. Not even politically did the influence of George III. end with his life; during the regency period from 1810–1820, Toryism prevailed. Nor was it till the reign of William IV., beginning in 1830, that the Whigs regained their position, as the ruling connection. Then indeed, having strengthened themselves by their alliance with democracy, they successfully began the organisation, parliamentary and popular, which was to issue in the first Reform Act. Elsewhere than in politics, George III. affected more deeply and more beneficially than had done any of his predecessors the current and temper of English life. Signs of an approaching renaissance of public spirit and patriotism had not been wanting under George II., whose soldierlike qualities had roused a healthy enthusiasm among his people. That process completed under George III. coincided with, was in part at least probably produced by, the breathing into the nation of a new spiritual and moral life. The preaching of the Wesleys brought about the Evangelical which was the earliest of English religious revivals; it was not till nearly a generation later that Wilberforce and Clarkson further confessed the quickening power of the higher agencies that had begun to move by the earliest protests against the Slave Trade.

To his humbler neighbours near Windsor, the good king was always "Farmer George." The story

known to every child of the king and the apple-dumplings is a homely suggestion of the simple and healthy life, an example of which the king set to his court and to society; many other such anecdotes, not less illustrative of the character and influence of the king, might be quoted; one must suffice. The home counties were then overrun by gipsies; the Windsor forest, that Pope had sung, was their favourite camping ground. For the sovereign had given orders that so long as these persons did not abuse his kindness, they should not be driven off. The king, according to his custom, was walking alone among the Windsor thickets; presently he came up to a gipsy child, herself emaciated with sickness and hunger, weeping bitterly by the side of her dead mother. The king quietly entered the tent, took the stone cold hands of the child in his own; saw that she was provided with food and clothing; then in simple words, such as he himself loved and the gipsy girl could understand, told the story of the New Testament. Such is one of the many homely acts by which George III. spread among his people a new feeling for goodness and piety, before death finally sealed the eyes, already so long sightless. The virtue which modish society had so long frowned upon had almost become the fashion of the time. The death of his youngest daughter, the Princess Amelia, on whom he doted, immediately preceded the final failure of George III.'s reason. The Perceval government reintroduced William Pitt's Regency Bill of 1788; with the necessary modifications it passed in 1811; the next year the Premier Perceval was assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons. The first act in his kingly capacity of the regent was to open negotiations, not with any of his

old Whig friends, but with Lord Wellesley and with Canning first, with Lord Grenville and Grey afterwards, for the formation of the new government. None of these statesmen could act together; the Regent therefore chose as his premier Lord Liverpool with Lord Castlereagh as foreign secretary, with an ex-premier, the reactionary Tory, Lord Sidmouth, formerly Mr. Speaker Addington, as Home Secretary; a future premier of the Victorian age, Lord Palmerston, for the first time took office as what was then called Secretary at War.

Since, in 1783, his minority had closed, the Prince of Wales, now the vice-king, had been established at Carlton House; this building had not been inhabited since the death of the Dowager Princess of Wales in 1772. To-day its very ruins have perished. Its former situation is approximately marked by the association of its name with the well-known Conservative Club in Pall Mall, in the neighbourhood of Carlton Gardens. In 1788, the debates on the regency were to develop a new difference between Tories and Whig; in 1783, the question of the money allowance to the future regent himself had marred the unanimity of the Whigs themselves. Fox was for granting the Heir-Apparent an annual sum of £100,000; Lord John Cavendish advised a considerable reduction; the old King George III., then living, volunteered himself to discharge the expenses of his son. At that time, therefore, the demand was reduced to £60,000; William Pitt, then leading the Tory Opposition, approved the grant as proper and moderate, and with some personal compliments to his rival the Foreign Secretary, Fox, contrasted the reasonable sum, asked for, with the rumours long in circulation, of the enormous amount which the

prince's friends had resolved upon securing for their royal patron. At the same time, Pitt spoke in the very highest terms of the abilities and character of the prince, whose succession to his father was, in all but name, to date from his second assumption of the regency in 1811, rather than from his actually mounting the throne in 1820.

Of the abilities of George IV., no one ever entertained a doubt. Gifted with an intellect more keen and powerful than his father ever possessed, the son had profited by social advantages, which the father had never sought. From his boyhood he had lived familiarly among his future subjects, and had consorted on equal terms with all those who pleased his fancy or gratified his vanity among the fashionable persons of his time. George III., by a clumsy trick of repeating with an irritating pertinacity foolish questions, conveyed an unjustly unfavourable impression of his mental capacity.

George IV. had none of these unhappy tricks of manner. His conventional title, "the First Gentleman in Europe," was not perhaps too complimentary to the class to which it referred him; he was however a consummate man of the world, with a head for business of all kinds, as strong as his inclination for work was weak. His personal bearing, his manners, his grand air, the grace with which he wore his fine clothes, had been in the mouths of an admiring court, society and capital before his emancipation from his tutors and governors. In respect of personal accomplishments, he was compared to his own advantage with the Protestant Duke of Monmouth, son of Charles II.; his education had been admirable, its literary results remained with him throughout life. No other prince of his day, it may be safely

said, could read with his accuracy and ease the Greek and Latin classics. The reserved, distant and nervous manner of George III. was replaced in George IV. by an affability, easy even to geniality, and by a contempt for the punctilious constraints of court etiquette, observed to the last so correctly by George III. When to the future George IV. was mentioned the objection of the actual George III. to the Fox and North coalition, the son's comment was, that if his father did not like it, he must be made to like it; at a later stage, if he were not foully libelled by report, the prince amused his heartless friends by mimicking the contortions of his father's face and person in the delirium of insanity. Independently of the moral antithesis to his father, represented by the son, the political sympathies with which George III. began his public life and those to which George III. throughout his whole course adhered, constituted a contrast not less complete than the personal characters of the two men. Though he was to end his days as a Tory, George IV. had begun by political agreement with the Whigs and by social intimacy with their leaders. For these earlier public preferences the new king might have given his own reasons. The twenty-three years of his father's kingcraft and statesmanship had not provided the nation with matter of unmixed satisfaction. The Peace of 1763, negotiated by George III.'s favourite, Lord Bute, had sacrificed or restored to France or Spain nearly all the conquests of the elder Pitt. Wilkes, Junius and Churchill had overwhelmed with ridicule and obloquy the ministerial achievements between the battle of Lexington, which opened the American War in 1775, and the Peace of Versailles, which closed it in 1783. The struggle

with America had not only drained a nation; it had lost an empire. George IV. had shown vile taste in parading his political differences with his father; in support of the disagreement, he might have had a good deal to say.

The years between 1783 and 1786 saw the popularity of George III. at its height; they had, however, not been entirely prosperous to the king. In the August of 1786, on his return from Windsor, as he was leaving his carriage at St. James' Palace, a woman standing at the garden door presented a petition; while she was placing it in the sovereign's hand, she pushed at him a knife; no injury was inflicted, the yeomen of the guard removed the weapon before the attempt could be repeated; the king immediately recovered from the shock, showed perfect self-command, desired that his assailant should be treated kindly; then proceeded to dress himself for and afterwards to hold his levee, as if nothing had occurred. The woman, by name Margaret Nicholson, proved to be a lunatic and was lodged in Bedlam. Those attached to the king's person said that though he had escaped scathless and preserved perfect composure, his spirits were permanently oppressed by the incident and he was haunted thereafter by fear of assassination. The year of this crazy assault was also that in which the money difficulties of the future George IV. came to a head. The income settled on him by parliament and increased by the Duchy of Cornwall revenues sufficed for all reasonable princely pomp; it was unequal to the gratuitous profusion of Carlton House. A debt of £200,000 had accumulated. The king at first refused to assist his son; at the age of twenty-four the Heir-Apparent was obliged to go to parliament for relief; this was

granted by the appointment of commissioners to investigate the affairs of the prince. The distressed father now decided on the dispersal of the family he loved as the best means of withdrawing his other sons from the evil influence of his successor in the throne. Frederick, the Duke of York, was settled permanently at Hanover. William Henry, educated for the Navy, received command of the Pegasus, a ship of seventy-four guns, and set sail from Plymouth Sound for Newfoundland waters. Edward, the fourth son, afterwards Duke of Kent and father of Queen Victoria, was placed under the care of a governor at Geneva. The future Dukes of Sussex, of Cumberland and of Cambridge were entered as students at the University of Göttingen. Only the regent, George IV., remained in England, the state apartments at the Palace were closed; the establishment was broken up. The king himself lived henceforward with no more state than a private gentleman. Some idea has been already given of the personal qualities of William Pitt's friend, the treasurer of the Navy, Dundas. When during Pitt's premiership the regent's affairs made one of their appearances before parliament, the influence of Dundas prevailed so much with Pitt, that the full sum wanted (£200,000) was granted; the arrangement was celebrated by a dinner famous in the convivial records of those bibulous days given at Carlton House, at which Dundas undertook, not it would appear successfully, to secure the presence of Pitt himself; Pitt's portion of port wine Dundas appears without difficulty to have consumed in addition to his own. By the summer of 1787, the prince's debts were on this occasion settled; for a time they disappeared from parliamentary debates.

George III. acknowledged the bounty of his legislature in a message of pathetic gratitude received in both Houses with loyal enthusiasm; in the Commons, the prince's friends, Fox and Sheridan, were discreetly silent; the only voice heard was that of Pitt, who pleaded for a not too severe scrutiny into the prince's accounts, "as the circumstance itself could never occur a second time." This was the occasion on which the king agreed to set apart £10,000 a year income for his son; while in addition to the £160,000 for the actual debts, £20,000 were allowed for the improvements at Carlton House.

The extravagance of George IV. has attracted the more attention because of its contrast to the economy characteristic of the greatest of English sovereigns; among the Tudors, the thrift of Elizabeth has been the more noticed because it followed so closely upon her father's splendid prodigality; it was compared at the time with the expenses of another European sovereign, contemporary with her, Henry IV. of France. A parallel of parsimony has been drawn between Frederick II. of Prussia and George III. The English king, it is true, was without those pleasant vices of sovereigns that are so costly to subjects; in an unscientific age, George III. found his recreation in scientific, and especially mechanical, experiments; that perhaps is why the wits of the period gave him the nickname of the button-making king. According to the calculations given by Burke in his *Causes of the Present Discontents,* George III.'s income "seldom fell below a million a year;" he lived in no royal state, he inherited a large amount of ready money from Queen Anne, his predecessor, yet during the sixty years he was on the throne, the royal debts accumulated to the amount of £398,061; no one

charged this crowned moralist with private extravagance for personal pleasures. Nor can there be much doubt that his contemporaries were right in attributing most of the liability he incurred to the cost of his kingcraft and to the outlay in parliamentary and electoral corruption, for gaining the "king's friends," as the instruments of the crown's prerogative.

Closely connected with George IV.'s debts was another subject less creditable to the sovereign, that of his relations with Mrs. Fitzherbert. The Royal Marriage Act, if the prince had married a Roman Catholic lady, would have invalidated his succession to the throne. Fox, after expatiating on the hardship of this statute on the prince, proceeded on the authority of his royal friend to denounce the rumour of such a marriage, as a low, malicious calumny, destitute of all foundation, propagated with the sole view of depreciating the prince's character in the eyes of the country. An independent member of the House of Commons, a Devonshire man, Rolle, demurred to the assurances of Fox; declaring that he did not admit these reports of the Fitzherbert marriage. Rolle let it be seen pretty plainly that he did not accept the official contradiction. Sheridan upon this assumed great indignation at the innuendo of the heir-apparent having authorised a false denial. That, however, was what he had deliberately done; for the prince immediately afterwards repudiated everything which at his own request Fox had said on the subject, making "dear Charles," as he called the Whig leader, his dupe throughout the affair.* For the then Prince of Wales, the future regent and

* For a detailed account of this episode, see Wraxall's *Memoirs*, Vol. IV., p. 455, etc.

king, the great point was that his disowning of Mrs. Fitzherbert and his duping of Fox had answered his purpose and had caused his father to come forward with the money he wanted; nor was he troubled by the fact that the reputation and happiness of a lady, blameless till his own association with her, were the price paid for his pecuniary relief. Of course the impression created upon the public was as painful in itself as it was damaging to the future king, who, as will presently be seen, was to be visited by a severe Nemesis. Some amiable qualities George the Fourth had always possessed; his interest in art and literature, like his sympathy with the troubles of intellectual men, may, as Thackeray says, have been affected rather than genuine. He did, however, out of his own means, allow the well-known song-writer, his erewhile boon companion, Captain Morris, £300 a year; directly he heard that Flora Macdonald, who had saved the Young Pretender after the Stuart defeat at Culloden, was in want, the prince sent Sir John Macpherson* to see the Highland heroine, taking her the first instalment of an annuity of £50 out of the royal pocket. When his passions were concerned, George IV. could affect the generosity not uncommon under such circumstances with the most indulgent of mankind. The beautiful Mrs. Crouch, the actress and singer, received from the regent large sums; upon one occasion the claim of Mrs. Crouch amounted to £10,000; the argument to the eye was resorted to; 3,000 guineas in gold,

* Doubts have been raised as to the continuance of the payments to Flora Macdonald by the prince, Sir John Macpherson's friends declaring that after the first instalment, all allowances to the lady came out of the pocket not of the prince, but out of the pocket of Sir John Macpherson himself.

told out on the table before her, satisfied the lady, who now signed a receipt in full of all demand. George IV.'s losses at the card-table have been exaggerated. He was not indeed as fond of horses as his father, had not a good seat in the saddle and seldom rode to hounds as did George III. But he plunged at Newmarket heavily, and seems often to have lost over a single race sums that might have liquidated a month's run of bad luck at faro. Nor was his turf record entirely clean; the affair of "Diamond and Hamiltonian," two famous racers, and the practices of the jockey Chiffney involved so much discredit to the future king, that only his exalted station seems to have prevented his expulsion from the Jockey Club.* One redeeming quality went far in English opinion to atone for the many excesses of the royal libertine. His good mother, Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg, ever found in him a tender and dutiful son; as a boy, long before he became regent, he showed much kindness to his brothers the Dukes of Clarence, Sussex and Kent, giving them a home at Carlton House, when George III.'s displeasure expelled them for a time from the paternal roof.

Before the trial of Queen Caroline, George IV.'s social delinquencies did not prevent his being popular, especially with the London crowds; while regent he had become personally familiar to the eyes of all his future subjects who lounged in Hyde Park; he drove every day in a tilbury with his groom by his side. While the practice, as below the royal dignity, scandalised graver spectators, it greatly grati-

* In *Genius Genuine*, a little volume on horses and horse racing, Chiffney published his version of the whole case. The regent secured the suppression of the book.

fied the mob. The personal popularity of George IV. continued after the Queen Caroline scandal had come to a head; early in 1821, the sovereign paid his first visit to Drury Lane theatre with the Dukes of Clarence, of York and his regular suite; the royal arrival excited intense enthusiasm; the whole pit and gallery stood up to cheer and wave their hats; once or twice a single voice from among the gods cried, "Where's your wife, Georgie?" the words were immediately drowned in angry cries of "Turn him out;" at Covent Garden opera the next night the loyal demonstrations were repeated. From the moment it had been arranged, the undoing of the marriage with Princess Caroline was obviously but a question of time. The sight of his queen was enough to make her husband call for brandy. Lord Liverpool, a son of that private secretary of Lord Bute, Charles Jenkinson, who had been regarded as the sinister influence, responsible for so many of George III.'s mistakes, was maintained in the office of prime minister, because his royal master regarded him as likely to prove a facile instrument in compassing a divorce. Not that Liverpool was by any means a mere figurehead of his cabinet.

In the year 1821, in Pall Mall, close to St. James' Palace, lived, in great state, a lady whose horses and carriages were supplied from the king's stables; the favourite never appeared in public with her royal lover, though she dined every day at the Palace. This was Lady Conyngham, who completely dominated the sovereign. From others, George IV. would tolerate no interference with his domestic arrangements; whether at the Brighton Pavilion, at Windsor or at St. James', Lady Conyngham was encouraged to give whatever orders she pleased.

"Thank you, thank you, my dear, you always do what is right; you cannot please me so much as by giving whatever orders you please, to show you are mistress." Lord Liverpool had the courage to assert himself as prime minister in opposition to this formidable lady. In the spring of 1821, a Windsor Canonry became vacant. Lady Conyngham determined to secure it for Sumner, who was afterwards to become Bishop of Winchester; the sovereign readily complied, the new Canon actually kissed hands at Brighton on his appointment. When Lord Liverpool heard what had been done, he at once went to the king, and threatened to resign office, unless allowed to dispose of the patronage with which his Majesty had dealt; eventually was arranged a compromise, by which her ladyship's and the minister's nominees were both withdrawn, and the appointment bestowed on a third person, Dr. Clarke. After this, Lady Conyngham does not seem to have further interfered in state patronage, but to have been content with the valuable treasures which the royal favour heaped upon her. Her jewels and especially her pearls were pronounced by the feminine experts of London society to be beyond comparison the finest in Europe. At a dinner-party at Devonshire House on the Midsummer Day of 1821, Lady Conyngham's head blazed with a sapphire, which was during a whole year, not only the admiration of Piccadilly, but the talk of Europe. The jewel had a history; it had belonged to the Stuarts, it had been given to the king by Cardinal York; some time later it narrowly escaped irrevocable inclusion among the state trinkets of the reigning House of Belgium; that deliverance was followed by the brilliant stone permanently passing to the marchioness who had captivated the English king.

While regent, George IV. had determined to exert his royal prerogative for ridding himself of the wife he detested. The beginning of his reign was marked by the proceedings called the queen's trial; these scandalised the nation and, though not permanently, impaired the popularity of the king. The so-called trial opened with the inquiry into the facts by secret committees; these reported that the lady's conduct, though ill-advised, would not justify a divorce; then came the investigation before the House of Lords; to gratify the king the government instituted divorce proceedings against the queen; it discredited the ministers, who saw the mistake committed; every one knew that the measure itself must be dropped.

The regency of 1811--1820 and George IV.'s actual reign of 1820--1830 together constitute but a single period; each of its divisions is marked by the same characteristics. George IV.'s indolent indifference to all politics, except those touching his own personal interest, tended to perpetuate nearly the same results as had followed the active intervention and strenuous kingship of George III. The father controlled public affairs by his prerogative. The son influenced the mutual relations of parties, by the social agencies of his court or, as in the case of Lady Conyngham, through individual favourites. In each case the events of the time were moulded not by the popular will, expressed through its parliamentary representatives, but by the royal pleasure. The real struggle was less between the monarch and his people than between the throne and the aristocratic oligarchy for the most part exclusively of the Whig colour, which since the Revolution of 1688 had seemed to possess an hereditary right to predominance. Neither during the regency nor during the earlier days of the

reign following did the prospect seem to promise the early return of the Whigs to office. On assuming the control of the executive, the successor of George III. found in power an administration which originated in George III.'s refusal to entertain the question of Catholic Emancipation; this policy William Pitt had always regarded as an essential supplement to his Irish Union Act of 1800. Spencer Perceval, a man, in a licentious age, of singularly blameless life, lives to-day perhaps chiefly in the humorous satire of his political opponent, Sidney Smith, who refused to regard Perceval's domestic excellences as reasons for political admiration of that prime minister; in Perceval's administration were Lord Wellesley, presently to be succeeded by Lord Castlereagh as foreign secretary; Lord Palmerston as secretary at war and Sir Robert Peel as under secretary of the colonial office both began their official career under Perceval. This administration therefore did not lack famous individuals; disunion within the cabinet weakened and discredited the government collectively. The premier himself, from his sympathy with the regent's wife, the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, was personally unacceptable at court; so were one or two other leading members of the cabinet, because of their known disposition to concede that Catholic Emancipation, which the future George IV. resisted as strongly as had ever been done by George III.

On the other hand the Whig Opposition had strongly protested against the restrictions on the regent's power, first proposed in 1788 and again enforced in 1810; it was also the two Whig peers, Lords Grenville and Grey, that the prince had entrusted the drawing up of his answer to the parlia-

mentary resolutions on the conditions of his vice-kingship. The French Revolution of 1793 began to inspire the future George IV. with a dread of Whiggism and all its works. Between the regent and the Whigs all ties of personal friendship had long since ceased to exist. Fox was dead; Sheridan had fallen out of court favour because in French as in home politics he had followed the lead not of Burke but of Fox. Moreover, though the regent himself had drafted his first reply to the Houses, with the help of the two Whig peers, Grenville and Grey, he had eventually sent an answer, written by himself but inspired, and, as to his grammar and spelling, revised, by Sheridan, much to the disgust of the pair of puissant Whig nobles; they did not, however, improve their position at court by the didactic severity of their remonstrance with the prince.

Under these circumstances there does not seem to have been sufficient ground for the popular expectation that the prince would initiate his regency by dismissing the Tories and sending for the Whigs. His mother, Queen Charlotte, had entreated her son not lightly to aggravate his father's malady by changing his cabinet. Even thus early, however, the regent gave Lord Grenville to understand that, while the king's health prevented the dismissal of Perceval and the Tories, his own confidence was entirely with the Whigs. Some years after this, when had disappeared the last chance of George III.'s recovery, the removal of the earlier checks was exalting the power of regent into that of a king, then the Whigs once more affected to regard as certain their summons to power. The utmost, however, in this direction ever done by the prince, was through

the Duke of York to propose that "some of those persons with whom the early habits of his life were formed" should agree to strengthen, by joining it, Mr. Perceval's administration. The new evidence brought to light on this subject by such works as Lord Colchester's Diary, Plumer Ward's Memoirs and above all the Rose Correspondence place it beyond a doubt, that the regent never seriously intended any Liberal leavening of the cabinet. Lord Grenville, Pitt's staunch supporter on Catholic Emancipation, now one of the Whig chiefs, had long seen the insincerity of George IV.'s Whig overtures. Writing to a friend, April 13, 1823, Grenville said, "The whole will end, I doubt not, in the continuance of Perceval, with Castlereagh and Sidmouth to help him." The prince himself is declared to have avowed the absence in himself of all political partialities and his own indifference, not less to the principles than the persons of Whig leaders. That declaration is the more credible because the Tory cabinet had just shown great liberality in the matter of the civil list. It is therefore scarcely necessary, as some writers have done, to attribute the Tory proclivities developed by the king, whose early intimates had been among the Whigs, to the influence behind the scenes of Lord Hertford and his family, or to the preponderance of any court cabal whatever. George IV.'s political convictions were pretty uniformly regulated by a sense of his personal convenience. Thus it will be seen under George IV. the crown was as active and supreme, parliament and statesmanship were as passive and subservient, as ever had been the case when, in the days of George III., the House of Commons vied with the king's ministers in alacrity to suppress Wilkes. Another

purely personal reason which doubtless may have kept George IV. aloof from the Whigs may be mentioned. Aristocratic hauteur, forbidding even to the point of severity, has always been a social tradition of Whiggism; it partly accounts even in these later days for the irremediable schisms that have rent the Liberal party; George IV.'s social conception of kingship was largely that easy and cynical geniality which had made for Charles II. so many friends, and of the same quality as of those whom Horace represents as mourning the death of Tigellius; the patrician austerity and the social exclusiveness of the Greys and Grenvilles were not calculated to reconcile the pleasure-loving king to a school of statesmen who seemed to stand between himself and his enjoyments.

The padded-man who wore the stays is a description that would fit the First Gentleman in Europe better than it was deserved by Bulwer Lytton, to whom Tennyson first applied the words; George IV.'s pretence of a wish to revert to the political counsel of the friends of his youth was as artificial as his wadded figure, fresh from his valet's hands. On Perceval's assassination by Bellingham in 1812, the regent would have reconstituted the cabinet on its old lines, replacing probably Perceval himself by Sidmouth. This he was prevented from doing by an address of parliament that he would be pleased to sanction the forming of a strong and efficient administration. The regent sent for Lord Wellesley, the high-minded and accomplished follower of Pitt, whose liberal ideas were supposed to make him equally acceptable to enlightened Tories and moderate Whigs. The surviving members of the Perceval cabinet received Wellesley's name coldly, the Whig opposition peremptorily refused to co-operate

with him. Such was the regent's practical reply to the petition of parliament, and such the new triumph of the sovereign's pleasure over a divided parliament, as well as over a yet unorganised, or rather scarcely existing democracy. The regent was about to go through something like his earlier performance in the Fox and Fitzherbert episode, already related: the part played by the Whig leader in the earlier incident was now to be filled by a Whig nobleman, who had been from the first an intimate guest at Carlton House; Lord Moira, the later founder of the ennobled family of Hastings, only lacked means for supporting his ideas of personal dignity and social splendour, to be as imposing a figure as had been Lord Shelburne in the time of George III. The effort to widen the basis of the Perceval cabinet having failed, Lord Moira, as the friend of the prince and instrument of the court, seems to have received from the regent carte blanche to negotiate a new cabinet under Lords Grey and Grenville; these two Whig statesmen were, according to Moira, to be hampered by no royal restrictions whatever. Information, however, withheld by the court even from Moira, had reached these peers that the prince would tolerate no changes in the *personnel* of the royal household. The business, therefore, as from the first the regent had intended, ended in much the same way as, in 1839, the Bed Chamber Plot caused Sir Robert Peel's early effort in cabinet-making to miscarry. The future George IV. was now as completely the master of the situation as had ever been George III.; he was too quite as embittered as was ever his father, in the days of the coalition against the Whigs. Of that party, Lord Grey was now the head; "if," were the regent's words, "Lord

Grey is forced upon me, I shall abdicate." The Moira negotiations obviously had been set on foot for no other reason than to waste time; in this the regent's purpose was fulfilled; he was presently enabled to call into existence a ministry as nearly as possible a resuscitation of the Perceval government. The head of the new cabinet was Lord Liverpool, of whom some account has already been given; the patriarchal Tory, Lord Eldon, was once more Chancellor, Lord Castlereagh took the Foreign Secretaryship, the sole elements of Liberalism were Palmerston, still Secretary at War, Huskisson Minister of Woods and Forests, Peel Secretary for Ireland. But the Liverpool cabinet marked a triumph of a Tory king and a Tory court, not less decisive, or, throughout the reign in which it occurred, enduring, than any victory of the same kind won against the same adversaries by George III. Having now obtained an administration of the kind he desired, the king could safely leave all national affairs to his advisers; as a fact, after Lord Liverpool's accession, neither as regent nor as king, did George IV. intervene in the government. The private business and wishes of the king were, however, during some years to come, to colour and to control the course of party politics. As to money matters the sovereign had indeed, after a little demur, accepted the ministerial terms, had even in the speech, with which he opened the session, disclaimed any wish for an increased civil list. The first long deferred wish, George IV., on his full establishment in his throne, had determined to gratify, was to rid himself of his queen. Hence all those proceedings that he forced upon his reluctant ministers, and that exposed the crown itself to a degree of unpopularity

and obloquy, which excited the apprehension of the best friends of the monarchy; the affair, however, proved nothing more than a strain to which the throne was more than equal.

After her enforced and humiliating seclusion at Blackheath, Queen Caroline had gone abroad. Some had hoped that the birth of a daughter by this ill-starred marriage might have happily re-united the king and his wife. Princess Charlotte indeed, as she grew in years and stature, attracted to herself the nation's fondest hopes. A bright amiable girl, she had been permitted to see her mother only two hours a week, had been brought up in absolute seclusion. Betrothed first to Prince William of Orange, she exasperated her father by breaking off a six months' engagement in the summer of 1814; two years later she became the happy wife of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, an uncle of Queen Victoria; the princess had met Leopold on his visiting England in 1815. Though a general in the Russian Army, Leopold became for his wife's sake a naturalised Englishman, and eventually was King of Belgium; in less than a twelvemonth the princess died in child-birth; the happiness of the family and the nation was buried in her grave.

Of all ministers who saw the folly and the danger of the English king entangling himself in proceedings for a divorce from his queen, Lord Canning was the most earnest and therefore the most honourably distinguished. The chancellor, Lord Eldon, faintly protested against the step, but the outspoken courage of the future foreign secretary and prime minister was as memorable as the spirited language in which it was conveyed. In the year of George IV.'s accession, when whispers of the divorce pro-

ceeding were first heard, Canning, under date October 2, 1820, wrote to Huskisson, "Ministers ought to have held this language to the king: 'Sir, divorce is impossible!' 'What! If she comes, if she braves, if she insults?' 'Yes, sir, in any case, divorce is impossible. Other things may be tried, other expedients may be resorted to, but divorce, we tell you again, is impossible. It can never be;' —and see the fruits (of their conduct)—'a government brought into contempt and detestation; a kingdom thrown into such ferment and convulsion, as no other kingdom or government ever recovered from without a revolution; but I hope we shall.'" Popular opinion on the subject had from the first not been doubtful. What were the facts as the country saw them? As regent or king the life of George had been openly immoral; he had isolated his wife at Shooter's Hill; he had laid all manner of traps for her; he had deliberately placed her in circumstances, sure to cause scandal, and likely to betray into conduct, compromising if not actually guilty, a giddy and indiscreet princess. National sympathy was thus strongly evoked on behalf of a woman, in the chosen land of liberty, harassed and persecuted by the man, who should have been her protector,—and this husband, the wearer of a crown, synonymous with the championship of the oppressed. Such were the considerations, which found expression in the outburst of indignation against the cruel affronts placed upon Queen Caroline. In parliament, the Whig opposition had long been steadily growing in strength and in organization; now for the first time it was quickened by the infusion into it of Cobbett's liberal fire; in such circumstances it could not have been expected to forego the chance of making polit-

ical capital by espousing the queen's cause. The opening of proceedings was throughout the country a signal for demonstrations that many thought would have led to civil war; after the queen had passed some time on the Lake of Como, in the society of an Italian Bergami, she had been offered by the English government, and had refused, £50,000 a year, to renounce the royal title and live abroad. The rejection of these terms was immediately followed by her triumphal return to London; the popular feeling in her favour was intensified by the roughness with which on the day of the king's coronation, July 19, 1821, she had been prevented from entering Westminster Abbey. Ministers more and more disliked the procedure; they could, however, no longer delay it; the inquiry into the queen's conduct revealed much that was reprehensible, but nothing that was criminal. The effect on the popular mind produced by the cruel and selfish cynicism of the king as well as by the banding of his ministers against the woman stimulated the passion of the mob. Grave signs of sedition showed themselves in the streets; the germ of mutiny appeared in the army. A battalion of guards who refused to give up their ball cartridges were ordered off to Plymouth; half-drunk on their march, they cried out incessantly among the cheers of the populace, "God save Queen Caroline." In the July of 1820, the royal pressure induced Lord Liverpool to bring in a Bill of Pains and Penalties against the queen. Canning marked his disapproval by resigning his office on the Board of Control. Brougham's great speech in the queen's defence awoke the storm again, the majorities for the measure went on diminishing. A few days later when the bill should have been pressed forward, Lord Liverpool an-

nounced its abandonment. The news scarcely came as a surprise; the next thing looked for was the defeat of the ministry. The credit of such an event would have been universally given to Lord Brougham, whose speech was admitted on all sides to be the most magnificent display of argument and oratory heard for years. The effect of the disclosures relating to Caroline and her exceedingly ill-advised conduct during the trial were lamented by all serious people at the time, as demoralising to the public taste. No feast of scandal so calculated at once to debauch and stimulate the national taste had been supplied within living remembrance. The queen's trial absorbed all political interest; affected even the fate of parties; it furnished the one topic of conversation in club, at dinner-table, wherever in town or country men or women congregated. The investigation into the queen's conduct was the one topic of all talk; what is spoken of as the trial of the king's consort began with the second reading in the Upper House of Lord Liverpool's Pains and Penalties Bill. The strangers' gallery, crowded with the fashionable, resembled the pit stalls of the opera on a special night. The ministers, who had gratified the king in promoting this trial, were insulted by the mob, whenever they appeared abroad; sympathy with the queen was shown in every possible way. The influence and dignity of the crown were not really touched. The Duke of Portland conversing on the subject with the Duke of Wellington had urged as a reason why the queen's bill should not pass the Lords, the disgrace to the king which the inevitable House of Commons' recrimination would entail. Wellington replied that the king was already degraded as low as he could be. Polite society, of

course, sided with his Majesty; one of the great ladies of the time, Lady Harrowby, usually indifferent to political topics, warmly expressed the feeling of the privileged classes when she said that "if the House of Lords should suffer itself to be influenced by the opinions and wishes of the people, it would be most mean and pusillanimous," adding "what does it signify what the people think or what they express, if the army is to be depended upon."*

Throughout all these proceedings, Queen Caroline was repeatedly appealed to, not only by the direct agents of the king, but by independent statesmen on both sides, to accept a handsome money allowance (sums mentioned varied from £50,000 to £100,000 a year) and to desist from further efforts for the redress of her wrongs. She never gave the slightest ground for hoping that these overtures would succeed. On the contrary, her demand, perfectly clear and consistent throughout, was not for pecuniary satisfaction, but for official recognition;

* Which, as had been shown by the conduct already related of the Guards Regiments, was not altogether the case. This anecdote, so faithfully expressive of the relations on the subject between the classes and masses of the time, is given in the absolutely historical pages of the Greville *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 38. Much of the evidence forthcoming before the Lords was of course as dull as it was offensive. One extract from the cross-examination is amusing. To show that Queen Caroline, when in Italy, had not always been in company so ill-advised as that of Bergami, a certain fashionable Countess at Florence had been described as her friend. It now came out that this lady spoke anything but pure Tuscan; Lord Lauderdale, who took an active part in the trial, himself spoke in very broad Scotch. Upon this Lord Auckland said to the witness under examination, "Have the goodness to state whether Countess ——— spoke Italian with as broad an accent as the noble Earl who has just sat down speaks his native tongue!"

—that at foreign courts she should have the precedence of English royalty, that at home her name should be restored to its normal place in the Litany, and generally in the Liturgy in the Church of England. There was thus from the first not the slightest chance of the domestic dispute being composed. Newspapers and politicians thought they had an interest in perpetuating the unseemly wrangle. The trial itself had begun in the August of 1820; the defence was opened in October. In November, the peers read the bill a second time against the queen by a majority of twenty-eight; that total, on the motion of the third reading, fell to only nine votes; this happened in the chamber where ministers were practically supreme. It was, therefore, obviously idle to send down the measure to the House of Commons; hence, as already said, the premier's announcement to the peers that the bill was dropped. Not soon enough for her fair fame, if not too late for her peace, the unfortunate queen promoted a melancholy settlement of the affair, by dying in the following August. This business incidentally showed the character of the king in a light more favourable than has yet been noticed; it did not indeed reveal in George IV. any moral virtues as yet ignored; it furnished, however, incidental proof of his extreme shrewdness in forecasting popular opinion; George instinctively knew the inexpugnable position held by the crown in the hearts and minds of the English people. During the whole progress of these events, the king was observed to be in unusually excellent spirits. It was on the 7th of June, 1820, that Queen Caroline finally returned to London; many people rode or drove to meet her as far as her landing-place, Greenwich. Everywhere she

was received with the greatest enthusiasm; men and boys shouted, women waved pocket-handkerchiefs wherever she passed. She travelled in an open landau, Alderman Wood sitting by her side; while opposite were Lady Ann Hamilton and another lady. Driving through St. James Street, her Majesty passed under the bow window of White's Club House. She graciously bowed and smiled at the club men she recognised, looking exactly as when she left England, neither dispirited nor dismayed. The king hearing of the incident from one of his friends, who belonged to White's, affected the greatest unconcern and went on humorously to speculate as to the time it would take to pass the bills for settling "her business." When one of the royal intimates declared this business would raise such a tempest as the royal power could not appease and would prove an anniversary which his Majesty would have no cause to celebrate with joy, George IV. pleasantly turned round and told him not to talk such d——d nonsense. The king was perfectly right. Discontent and disturbance among the lower classes may have seemed to some the harbingers of the civil war that had been talked about, but the crown and those ministers, whom his confidence placed in office, long after the affair of Queen Caroline, were absolutely supreme over parliament, over the press, over not only fashionable society, but the public opinion of the country. None the less it is true that with the reign of George IV. begins to be heard the popular demand for parliamentary reform as an agency for the better government of the kingdom. The Liverpool administration had never been liked or trusted by the people. Before the Queen Caroline incidents were at an end, it had ceased to be accept-

able to the court and king; ministers were constantly sending in their resignations and then, at his Majesty's request, withdrawing them. Early in 1820, the king began to take a pleasure in treating his premier with studied rudeness; sent for him only after a few minutes to order him out of the room with the remark that he did not know to whom he was speaking. "Sir," replied Lord Liverpool with much dignity, "I am addressing my sovereign as it becomes a loyal subject to do." A few minutes later George IV. sneeringly referred to his chancellor, Lord Eldon, who entered the room, as keeper of the royal conscience (the technical title of his office), adding with gratuitous insult, "My lord, I know your conscience always interferes, except where your interests are concerned." This was the year in which occurred that insane and infamous manifestation of popular distrust of the ministry, known as the Cato Street Conspiracy; an account of this in the words of the president of the council, Lord Harrowby, addressed to a private friend, to the following effect, may now be given:—So far back as the Christmas of 1819, a gang of desperate men had meditated the wholesale assassination of the cabinet at a dinner at Lord Westmoreland, the Lord Privy Seal's house; the intended dinner-party was put off; the conspirators postponed their design until, at Lord Harrowby's in Grosvenor Square, another cabinet dinner had been arranged. Before the party came together, the host had been informed of the meditated attempt; the guests, therefore, never actually met; the chief of the London Police force, named Birnie, with twelve constables, on information received, went to Cato Street, Edgware Road, to seize the conspirators. Thirty-five Foot-Guards were

stationed outside to support the constables, who, to prevent any attempt of the gang to escape, reached the house before the soldiers came up and without any military help forced an entrance, not before two of the policemen had lost their lives. While the conspirators were putting out the lights and attempting to escape, the military came up. Nine men were at once apprehended. Thistlewood and the rest escaped. The next day the arch-conspirator was taken, and it became known that he and his friends had intended, after having butchered the ministers in Lord Harrowby's dining-room, to fire from the top of the house a rocket, as a signal to their confederates elsewhere. To increase the confusion, an oil-shop just out of Grosvenor Square was to have been set on fire, the Bank of England was to have been plundered, Newgate prison was to have been broken into and emptied, the heads of all the members of the cabinet were to have been put into a sack, prepared for the purpose, and afterwards displayed at conspicuous points throughout the country. Thistlewood and four of his accomplices were executed; five others were transported for life. The terror spread by the affair throughout the kingdom was out of all proportion to the real peril. The design was limited to a few men, drunk with the passion for notoriety. It was repudiated contemptuously by the earnest radicals, who were just then asserting themselves as a political power. Since the later years of George III.'s reign, wretchedness and discontent among the industrial classes had been appallingly on the increase. Men the reverse of alarmists, conspicuous indeed for their cool-headedness, predicted that with the sufferings of the poor, yearly growing in severity and

in extent; with agricultural depression sending peasants out of employment to herd with malcontent artisans in towns, the whole kingdom might be overtaken by an agrarian and economical revolution. Before the regency period was half over, most of agricultural England, especially in the eastern counties, began to be disturbed. In London, so far back as 1815, a crowd of factory workers in Spa Fields noisily demanded an address to the regent; these riots were not suppressed before much injury had been done; during the next few years matters grew worse rather than improved. The year 1818 passed for prosperous, but its apparent prosperity resulted from over-trading. During the twelve months following, set in and continued a disastrous reaction, affecting every class of the community. Bankruptcies multiplied to twice their usual amount, work grew scarce, wages fell. In addition to these social distresses, unpopular legislation, voted by decreasing majorities in parliament, provoked political discontent. The foreign Enlistment Bill to prevent English subjects from serving in alien armies, or fitting out warships for strange countries, was disliked because many English residents had taken arms to help the revolt of the Spanish colonies in America; it was passed by a majority of thirteen votes. The opinion of the necessity of Catholic Emancipation expressed by Pitt to the king was justified by the frequent motions in its favour, brought forward and rejected in parliament. The demand for parliamentary reform was becoming more widespread and more articulate. The principle of such a policy was yet to be affirmed by parliament; the idea that a popular franchise must some day be conceded steadily gained ground. Political meetings in the

great provincial centres of industry grew more frequent and more threatening; that in Lancashire, on St. Peter's Field, convened on a purely political plea towards the close of the regency period, had ended in what was known as the Manchester Massacre. Associated with this was the Wiltshire yeoman, known as "Orator Hunt;" his advanced opinions had turned him from a farmer into an agitator, and had caused the issue of a warrant for his apprehension. Defying this, Hunt was addressing about 100,000 persons; refusing to disperse, these were charged by a troop of cavalry with the consequent loss of several lives, of more wounded. Popular indignation now burst out against the government policy then more than ever odious by Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary's enactments for repressing popular discussion, known as the Six Acts. As regent, George IV. had given no heed to the multiplying signs of the national resolution to bring to a close the administration of the national affairs by a parliament not representative of national feeling and interest. Had he, after his actual accession to the throne, immediately concerned himself with the political symptoms of which he might have heard on every side, his ministers might have been encouraged by him in a policy that would have delayed indefinitely the parliamentary reform agitation, now fairly started and not to rest till the bill of 1832 had become law. Once more, therefore, as in the case of the first two Hanoverian kings, may be recognised in the political indifference of that dynasty a constitutional influence for political good.

To those who saw the surface only, notwithstanding all the ebullitions of political and social discontent just noticed, the power and popularity of George

IV. and his ministers seemed to be scarcely impaired by the national scandal of his divorce case and by the growing determination of his subjects for a political régime more popular and more efficient. Within the walls of parliament itself the case was different. In 1780, as has been seen, Dunning brought forward in the House of Commons his famous resolutions for retrenching the monarchy. Just forty years later, in 1820, Henry Brougham, then a member of the House of Commons, whose defence of Queen Caroline had made him the foremost champion of the popular cause, introduced a motion, declaring the crown's influence to be unnecessary for maintaining its constitutional prerogatives, destructive of the independence of parliament, and inconsistent with the well-governing of the realm. The speaker's argument, supported by an instructive array of facts and figures, comparing the two epochs, was, that since Dunning's motion in 1780, the number of places and commissions at the disposal of the court had dangerously increased. On the other hand it was pointed out that the increasing freedom of the newspaper press and of other agencies was practically controlling the royal prerogative to an extent never known before. Brougham's motion was decisively rejected, not perhaps from an entire want of sympathy with its object on the part of the House, but because parliament had long since perceived the true check upon the crown to be, not the reduction of prerogative and patronage, but the enlargement of popular liberties; that is a subject belonging less to the reign of George IV., than to his successor. The king had already become as strongly Tory in his views as his father before him had at any time been. Before 1824, his personal friends

were persuaded of his genuine desire for Catholic relief. When at last, after Lord Liverpool, Canning had become premier, and was intent upon justifying the small measure of Whig support he received, by passing that Catholic emancipation which his master, Pitt, had vainly advocated, George IV. sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, solemnly assured them that Catholic relief violated not only the royal conscience, but the coronation oath itself, declared his views on this question to be those of his revered father, George III., and his lamented brother, the Duke of York. These royal sentiments were afterwards associated with the parliamentary incidents of more constitutional importance than most others that happened under a sovereign whose love of ease prompted him to leave State business to his ministers; the anti-Catholic opinions of George IV., just stated, were cited by the Bishop of London in a speech to his clergy; they were referred to later by Lord Colchester in the House of Peers; thus was violated the cardinal principle forbidding the introduction of the king's name into a debate or the parliamentary mention of his views lest they should bias the legislature in its decision. About the same time, foreseeing the probability of an administration in which Canning should be the ruling spirit being forced upon him, George IV. specially let it be known that such a pro-Catholic administration could only be accepted by him as a necessity equally unforeseen and distasteful. When finally the Duke of Wellington and Canning were agreed that such a step could not indefinitely be delayed, George IV. gave his consent, then retracted it; then denied or explained it away, threw the blame on his ministers,

prayed for the pity of his friends. "If I agree to it," he said, "England is no place for me; I'll sail immediately for Hanover, and never come back again." So saying, his Majesty burst into tears, and for comfort began to caress his patriarchal Chancellor, Lord Eldon. But though reasonable men on all sides now admitted Roman Catholic emancipation to be, as Pitt had foreseen, the logical corollary, equally inevitable and equitable, to the Irish Union, many things were to happen before the concession was actually made. George Canning, as the most powerful of Catholic champions, had, of course, been unacceptable to the king. In August, 1822, the foreign secretary, Lord Londonderry (formerely Castlereagh) committed suicide; the dead minister and George Canning belonged to schools of political thought, mutually opposed on all foreign and on most domestic affairs. The differences had formerly caused a duel between them on Putney Heath. At that time Castlereagh led the reactionary Tories; he was identified at home with a policy of popular repression, abroad with the support of royal absolutism, and of the Holy Alliance, ratified September, 1815, between the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian sovereigns. On Londonderry's death, however, Canning, as the prime minister Lord Liverpool told the king, was his only possible successor at the foreign office. The reigning favourite, Lady Conyngham, who had been won over to the Catholic side, expressed her sympathy with the view. Reluctantly, therefore, the king gave his consent;—Liverpool showed his appreciation of the royal word, by insisting upon having it on paper;—this memorandum was worded as follows: "The king thinks the brightest jewel in the crown is forgiveness

to a subject who has offended him; he therefore consents to Mr. Canning forming a part of the cabinet." Canning himself resented the tone of the royal letter, but eventually did not refuse to become foreign minister. His Majesty in his own rather quaint words to the Princess Lieven, reported in the Greville Memoirs, pleasantly received the new foreign secretary with the perfect courtesy which, as a gentleman, he made a point of showing to every one. Lord Liverpool's political character has been described by Disraeli as that of the arch-mediocrity. His premiership was inevitable at the time, because it divided parties less and provoked fewer jealousies than would have been done by the selection of any other statesman; the king's choice was therefore a wise one. When Liverpool's place had to be filled, a new era had practically begun; henceforward the prime minister was to be less the sovereign's personal choice than the statesman conspicuously marked for the post by national opinion.

Thus in 1827, on Liverpool's retirement, the country looked to Canning; he was wisely accepted by the sovereign without much complaint, if without any cordiality. The prime minister of the twentieth century combined with that office the foreign secretaryship. Such was not the precedent of Canning, who placed Lord Dudley at the foreign office, reserving for himself, as chief minister, the First Lordship of the Treasury. The ministerial policy abroad was, however, essentially Canning's; it now raised no objections from the crown. The Treaty of London between England, France and Russia for the pacification of Greece, the battle of Navarino and the destruction of the Turco-Egyptian fleet;—these incidents logically resulted from the international policy

always favoured by Canning and at certain points supposed to be resisted by his predecessor; it, however, is a mistake to suppose that Lord Londonderry was so entirely possessed with the principles of the Holy Alliance and of monarchical absolutism, as not to have insisted upon some regard for the independence of the smaller nationalities of Europe. Canning himself was no more of a purely party politician than had been before him Chatham or the younger Pitt. The old Tories, with Lord Eldon at their head, would not join the Canning government of 1827; there even held aloof the Duke of Wellington, who had previously agreed with Canning in his Catholic policy, and who after Canning's death was himself to be the instrument for accomplishing that full measure of Catholic relief to which a future conservative leader, though himself no mere partisan, Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington's Irish secretary, was to foreshadow his future conversion to Free Trade by accepting. Even after the Catholic Relief Bill had been carried in the Commons on the third reading by 320 to 142 votes, George IV. refused at first his consent, but within a day or two gave it in writing. The effect of the Emancipating Act was to admit Roman Catholics by a new oath to parliament, as well as practically to all civil and political offices except those of Lord Chancellor and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

Early in his reign, George IV. had a very serious illness; this seems to have left behind seeds of radical disease; to re-establish his health, he rebuilt, at a cost of £6,000, his toy house by the sea, the Brighton Pavilion; here alternately he entertained his guests with practical jokes, chiefly of a convivial kind, and, after the medical fashion of the day, was

bled; on one occasion so severely as to lose twenty ounces of blood; the saving of the royal life upon this occasion was deemed a triumph of skill by Sir Matthew Tierney, the court physician. The king found a curious pleasure in misleading those about him on all subjects personal to himself, especially on everything concerning his health; he had a remarkable power of assuming a cheerful manner, when his strength was manifestly ebbing; he almost seemed to think death might be indefinitely postponed by simply ignoring it; the story of the king's last illness, aggravated by the death of his brother, has been told by his servant, Batchelor, in words, which emphasize the old proverb, that "no man is a hero to his valet." Of all royal invalids recorded by history, the fourth George seems to have given his attendants most trouble; towards the end, he showed more civility than he had yet done to those about him, especially to his physician, Sir William Knighton, as well as to his servant, the man Batchelor. Plundered by all his household in turn, George continued to keep near him men whom he knew to be foes rather than be tried by new faces. The subjects that seemed chiefly to have interested him up to the last were, after his Brighton Pavilion, the growing change in the *personnel* of parliament, "very ill composed, full of boys and strange men," the signs of a rising popular sentiment about slavery, showing, as the king shrewdly declared, the enormous influence possessed by the Methodists in the country; most of George's last days were spent neither at St. James' Palace nor in Windsor Castle itself, but in the fishing house or in tents on the banks of Virginia Water hard by; opposite his windows was moored a large boat in which, while the band was

playing, his Majesty dined daily. The dying king delighted in beautiful household ornaments, in dainty furniture, and in the society of Lady Conyngham, who passed days and nights in prayer by the side of her moribund admirer. When he was warned that any moment might now be his last, he showed a courage, a resignation, even a cheerfulness, which did something towards redeeming the frivolity that had marked his misspent years.

Few men have suffered more visibly from, or paid more manifest penalties for, their own faults and follies than did George IV. The exact opposite of his father in tastes, habits and objects of life, he inherited something of his father's obstinacy rather than strength of will; he was indebted not to his family but to nature alone for a shrewdness and quickness of observation, for an insight into character, when he chose to exercise it, for a consummate tact, improved by varied knowledge of character, and for a faculty of understanding the tendencies and the spirit of his age, such as his father had never possessed or tried to acquire, though George III. had successfully overcome his constitutional indolence and his youthful slowness, in mastering the routine of state business. To temperate habits and a patriarchal simplicity, George III. added a genuine love, a thorough understanding of music, a generous interest in musicians, a discriminating appreciation of art, a zeal for the improvement of the social status of artists. Handel died in 1759, the year before George III. came to the throne; the encouragement given to that great composer by George II. had attracted to London a host of foreign, chiefly German, composers of various degrees of merit. To some of these, whose names were never perhaps greatly

distinguished and are now quite forgotten, George III. performed, through trusty agents of his court, many deeds of helpful kindness; he knighted Sir Joshua Reynolds; to science and to exploration he rendered a national service by his encouragement of the navigators, Admiral Byron and Captain Cook. With some parts of his father's intellectual culture, George IV. could sympathise; he, too, liked music of a certain class, was fond of the drama, regularly went to Drury Lane, sent handsome presents to his Majesty's servants, the name borne to this day by the actors at what were once the two potent theatres of Old Drury and Covent Garden. Wiser and more gracious treatment by George III. might have made George IV., if not a more estimable man, a more serviceable king; the severity of the paternal methods with the Heir-Apparent was indeed much exaggerated by the regent's boon companions as by the prince himself. In or about 1785, the prince's debts, and even more his shifty ways of raising money or dealing with his creditors, had so exasperated the old king, that he refused his son any assistance; when, however, the prince had partly purged himself, by a short period of quiet living and reduced expenditure, the House of Commons' vote of some £180,000 for the building of Carlton House and the payment of the prince's debts was supplemented by the king's allowance from his own Civil List of £10,000 a year. Not so much his debts and his father's advocacy of the alliance, as a means of escaping from them, but the counsel of the crown's responsible ministers brought about in the April of 1795 the marriage with his cousin, the Princess Caroline of Brunswick; that completed his ruin. The sight of the unhappy bride

on the very day of the marriage sent the bridegroom to the brandy bottle for relief. The guardianship of the amiable daughter by this marriage, the Princess Charlotte, undertaken solely by the king while the queen lived at Blackheath, was not enough to induce the father to settle down decorously to domestic life. A model husband the king might not have proved; with a wife after his mind, his reign and court might have been very different. As regent, he was capable of appreciating not only literary genius, but the moral nobility of the good and great Sir Walter Scott. If few royal princes have left their mark upon the social history of their age, so distinctly and in some respects so unhappily as did George IV., it should be remembered also, that he set some fashions, whose influence has endured with good results to the present day. While regent, 1814, the prince received as his guests the Emperor of Russia, and also the King of Prussia, with an hospitality not only talked of everywhere for its magnificence, but distinctly tending in some of its results to improve the relations between the countries, over which ruled the sovereigns whom the King of England entertained. Commercially and artistically, the good taste of George IV. and his fondness for household ornamentation gave a profitable impetus to the practice by Englishmen of all those arts and employments, that, till the time of this king, had been confined to foreigners; these artistic occupations, while adding a new grace to life, have given remunerative employment to a larger class of men and women; they are now pursued with scarcely less success in centres of British industry than in the continental capitals to which before the time of George I. these processes were

practically confined. Finally, to George IV. belongs the distinction of having, by the example of his personal partialities, added entirely new features to the social appearance of the whole line of the English sea-coast. Both George I. and George II. had introduced the royal fashion, of occasionally visiting the chief provincial towns and private country houses of their kingdom; the practice was continued and improved upon by George III. George IV. went even further: in the same twelvemonth as that in which he was crowned, he went to Ireland, whose prosperity had been materially retarded by George III.'s opposition to all Irish reform. The next year he was in Scotland, and was fêted at Edinburgh with a cordiality and pomp with which all readers of Lockhart's *Life of Walter Scott* are familiar.

George IV. found London stone; he left it stucco. Regent Street still remains his monument, his title to provincial immortality is Brighton. He found the spot where he raised his Pavilion an unknown fishing-village, Brighthelmstone; he left it a famous and prosperous town; that transformation was followed by the rise of other such pleasure and health resorts along the whole south coast from the Foreland to Beachy Head, thence in an unbroken succession to Torquay, and so to the Land's End. The inland watering-places had been largely frequented at an earlier date than this; the Spas of Cheltenham and Leamington were visited by George III. and his court; Weymouth on the Dorsetshire coast was almost as famous during the first years of the nineteenth century as even before then had been its inland neighbour, Bath, on the Somersetshire Avon. But the seaside holiday resorts of the British

Isles may roughly be said to date from George IV., and to be indebted for their origin to the vogue into which Brighton was brought.

The more serious significance of the events happening under George IV. comes less from any personal connection between the king and the political movement of his time, than from the fact that circumstances and individuals, beyond the control of the royal prerogative in any shape, were now preparing the way for a political era, which was to be marked by an entirely new kind of legislation; this epoch of law-making activity began under William IV.; it was vigorously continued under Queen Victoria. A more serious cause for popular discontent than the non-representation of the working-classes in parliament was the social distress prevailing among all industrial orders of the community. The era of mechanical inventions, which was to revolutionise the condition of manual labour, had opened, while George III. was still on the throne; within a quarter of a century, Hargreaves had invented the spinning-jenny, which enabled one man to do at once the work that had before required eight separate labourers. Arkwright and Crompton both improved on these earlier discoveries. The power-loom of Cartwright gradually superseded weaving by hand. About the same time steam was increasingly applied to machinery; the coal-fields of Northern England were now opened up; a new industrial world seemed to be called into existence. The hard-headed, cleanly-living, God-fearing miners of Tyneside, among the extra-parliamentary forces of the realm, took the place which they have never ceased since to fill. Mining was robbed of some of its terrors by the Davy safety-lamp; as a consequence the out-

put of coal began largely to increase. The roads of the country were improved by Macadam. Canals were multiplied. Lines of mail-coaches closely connected the most distant parts of England. As communication improved, the conveyance of all sorts of goods became cheaper. Thus by a combination of agencies, productive labour of every sort was stimulated. The prosperity consequent upon these causes was not diffused in equal degrees among the different classes in the country. The Napoleonic wars had given large profits to the landlords, for high prices meant high rents. On the other hand, among the industrial orders, chronic distress in country districts was rendered more severe by the operation of the then existing poor-law. In towns the conclusion of peace between England and France had not brought the material advantages anticipated; the war indeed was over; many of its disturbing influences remained; the continental market for English goods remained precarious. Thus British industry was stagnant; manufacturers found themselves burdened with large stocks on hand. Labourers were therefore dismissed, production was restricted, families starved because bread-winners could find no work to do. Heavy taxation did not, as had been hoped, end with the extraordinary expenses of the war. The repressive measures of Sidmouth and Castlereagh only drove inwards the discontent of the masses. The whole country was honeycombed by secret societies and seditious organisations. While George IV. was yet on the throne, Huskisson and Canning were the two Liberal-Conservative statesmen to whom the country looked as reformers that would operate as bulwarks against revolution. At the very moment when success was being assured to the move-

ment for Catholic Emancipation, whose triumph its true author, Canning, never lived to see, were also decisively being shaped the agencies that, a little later, were to accomplish not only parliamentary reform under William IV., but were to prepare the way for Free Trade and other organic changes under Queen Victoria.

CHAPTER XIII.

WILLIAM IV.'S PLACE IN ENGLISH SOVEREIGNTY.

Under the sovereigns, whose persons, reigns and contributions to the national history are yet to be treated of in these pages, will be noticed, if not the final fulfilment, the progressive development, at an accelerated rate, of the great movements begun under preceding monarchs. The whole of the Georgian epoch was not, as has been briefly already indicated, wanting in the signs and qualities of national progress, social and moral, not less than political. George the Second inherited many of his father's failings or faults as well as much of his preference for Hanoverian over British politics and interests. But by his active interest in the military efficiency of his realm, even by the pleasure that, like all German princes, he took in military subjects, sights, sounds and pageants, above all by his own display of warlike courage and prowess at Dettingen—the last occasion on which a British sovereign commanded an army on actual service—as well as by the personal bearing of his second son, the Duke of Cumberland, on the less fortunate field of Fontenoy, the second of the Hanoverians prepared the way for the revival of the national spirit and the outburst of militant and imperial patriotism, that, immensely helped, if not created, as these movements were, by Chatham first, by his son William Pitt afterwards, formed the distinguishing features of the reign of George III.

That king himself, even in his mistakes, had been the first sovereign in whom his subjects at home and beyond seas recognised the crowned symbol of the unity of the Anglo-Saxon race, as well as of its Empire. These are the qualities whose development has been most successfully associated with British kingship during the nineteenth century. It should not be forgotten that they are deeply rooted in the national events or the personal idiosyncrasies of some among those earlier Hanoverian monarchs whose epochs are sometimes mentioned as having been synonyms for royal debasement or incompetence; for national sloth or infamy. Under George II., the decade of the Pelham administration, faintly perhaps, but still quite perceptibly, initiated in Church and State some of that series of reforms, which was to be carried further, before the Georges had ended, and to win victories still more satisfactory and distinct, under succeeding sovereigns. Gin drinking and other modes of popular debauchery, some of them at least imported from Holland, gradually followed the Revolution of 1688. If under the earlier Georges national drunkenness reached its fullest height, from that period too must be dated the reaction, however feeble its beginnings, in favour of habits more abstemious. To the Georgian period, too, must be referred the spiritual and religious awakening, which, before the last king on the Brunswick line had quitted his throne, changed the whole moral and intellectual life of the country. The Wesleys were Georgian products; their religious revival had been preceded so far back as Queen Anne by improvements in the Anglican Church as an agency for national righteousness. It was followed by a notable increase of ecclesiasti-

cal efficiency under George III., and later by the High Church revival, with which are connected some among the greatest of nineteenth century spiritual forces,—the whole body of the Oxford Tractarians, containing John Keble, of the *Christian Year,* John Henry Newman, and him without whom Newman declared the Anglican Revival could not have taken place, E. B. Pusey. The funeral of George IV. was the finest of melancholy pageants which the nineteenth century had so far witnessed; every detail of court splendour was preserved, with an exactness which all spectators knew would have been precisely to the mind of the late king. The chief mourner was his successor, William IV.; the military part of this ceremony, *e.g.,* the massing of the Life Guards, was especially magnificent, but the bearing of the chief mourner was wanting in royal gravity; as the new sovereign entered St. George's Chapel, directly behind the body, he darted up to Lord Strathaven, below the Dean's stall, shook him heartily by the hand, and went on nodding right and left. Outside the Chapel itself, William IV. showed an hilarity, which was as ill-suited to the occasion, as it was congenial with his own temper, for Greville, describing the scene immediately after he had witnessed it, wrote of never having beheld a gayer company, all the mourners except Lord Mount Charles, who was deeply affected, being as merry as grigs.* By the middle of July, 1830, attention was fixed on the new ruler and his proceedings; his predecessor lived only in the memory of his vices and misdeeds, chiefly raked up as these were by his erewhile worshippers and parasites; the discovery was at once made that King George was no loss and King William a great

* Greville. First Part. Vol. II., p. 4.

gain. Against the former the newspapers were bursting forth in full cry and were extolling the latter as the incarnation of all the virtues of which a trace had ever shown itself, not only in the Brunswick dynasty, but in all the royal houses that England had ever known. Everything combined to deepen the national sense of contrast between the fourth George and the fourth William; the popular imagination dwelt upon all the dramatic vicissitudes crowded into the threescore and five years which, on his accession, William had seen. All this while the new king was full of honest and unrepressed joy at his transition to splendour and wealth from not merely obscurity, but from positive poverty. Seldom had the Roman satirist's remark about the chief sting of want being in the ridicule attracted to her victims been more conspicuously illustrated than in the case of William IV. before his accession. His manner was marked by some of George III.'s least dignified peculiarities, especially by the little meddling curiosity of word or deed, by which the older king had done himself injustice. As Duke of Clarence, the sailor sovereign had lived at Bushey Park in rustic seclusion, surrounded as the great diarist of the period, Charles Greville, grimly remarks, "by a crowd of natural children,"* without consideration or friends and amid general contempt from his grotesque ways;† his eldest brother, the Prince of

* Among these were nine children by Mrs. Jordan the actress, the eldest son, George Fitzclarence, being created Earl of Munster on his father's accession; George and Frederick Fitzclarence, both in the army; Adolphus, a Rear-Admiral; Augustus, a clergyman; daughters, Sophia married to Lord de L'Isle; Mary, wife of Colonel Fox; Elizabeth, by marriage, Countess of Erroll; Amelia, Lady Falkland.

† Greville *Memoirs*, First Part, Vol. II., p. 2.

Wales (George IV.), was supposed by George III. to exercise special influence over the third son, Prince William; that suspicion was enough to make George III., at first, refuse to create the future king a peer. Mortified at the denial, the prince resolved to enter parliament through the House of Commons, if the House of Lords were to be closed against him. He actually took steps to promote his own election as M.P. for Totnes in South Devon; the return, had it been actually made, would doubtless have been invalidated by the House itself, but the question never came to the test; for in the May of 1789, George III. made his sailor son Duke of Clarence, remarking as he signed the patent, "This is another vote for the opposition;" as pointed out in the footnote,* the etymological meaning of the title, now chosen by George III. for his third son, who eventually was to wear his father's crown, remains doubtful; the dukedom itself revived historic memories; it had belonged to famous scions of English royalty; the earliest among the notable Dukes of Clarence had been Lionel (1362), second son of Edward II. and Philippa of Hainault; the next of historic note was Thomas, the second son of Henry IV.; this was that Duke of Clarence who brought defeat on his army and death on himself, because, at the Battle of Beaugé (1421), he ignored the fact that England owed to her bowmen her superiority over France; then came Shakespeare's Duke of Clarence; he was brother of

* For a long time antiquarians had generally agreed to find the derivation of this title in Clare, not the Irish county in the Munster Province, but the Suffolk town near Bury, till a geographical etymologist discovered Clarantsa or Chiarenza to be a small port of the Morea in Greece and conjectured the title might have come to Edward III. through his wife, Philippa of Hainault.

Edward IV., and perished in the butt of Malmsey wine.

During the whole of forty years the duke had never been seen in the fashionable society of his day; no persons of any position took the slightest notice of him, until Canning, on the eve of the break-up of the party he led, created the future king Lord High Admiral of the Fleet. The office was neither adorned nor dignified by its holder. His official speeches seemed suggestive of incipient insanity, or, on a more favourable interpretation, were the ludicrous blunders of well-meaning clumsiness. The Duke of Wellington, on succeeding Canning as premier, curtly dismissed its royal occupant from the Lord High Admiralship; the Duke of York's death, by making him heir to the throne, had improved the present fortunes of the future king; soon, however, he lapsed into the old insignificance; at the last George IV. failed suddenly; consequently before three months of expectation had passed, William found himself king. His new Majesty was soon admitted by the severest critics to have begun very well. Towards his premier, the Duke of Wellington, he showed all magnanimity by letting him see that the former slight of dismissal from the supreme naval command was completely forgotten. The king publicly declared himself delighted with the minister, who was told he might absolutely depend on the support of his royal master. The duke reciprocated these cordial sentiments in his conversational comparisons of his late with his present master, with whom his Grace could do more business in ten minutes than with his predecessor in so many days. But some time had to elapse before the novelty of his position permitted the king to attend to the seri-

ous business of state; the deportment of and the droll anecdotes current concerning the sovereign only shocked the fine society of the time; they endeared him to the masses. A day or two was occupied by the new monarch in exploring all the rooms at Windsor Castle, many of which he had only seen before on occasional visits to his father. Yet even amid these distractions the new king gave proof of right feeling and good sense, in his unpremeditated replies to loyal addresses from the Windsor and Eton ecclesiastical bodies, as well as from the townsfolk. But for his occasional outbursts and the inopportune use of these expletives which were the vice of a period rather than the offence of an individual, William IV. was universally allowed to preside very well over all state functions, looking like, what in fact he was, "a respectable old admiral." Popular talk did not run more on the new king's oddness than on the abounding signs of his good nature. Nothing within his power which might vicariously atone for his brother's, the late king's treatment of Mrs. Fitzherbert, was left undone; permission was given to the widow for her servants to wear the royal livery; with the exception of a box placed under seal at Coutts' Bank, all private papers were at Mrs. Fitzherbert's wish destroyed, while from his Civil List William IV. settled £6,000 a year upon the ill-used lady. None of his old naval comrades or acquaintances appealed to his remembrance in vain. He treated the widow of his brother's physician, Tierney, with the same consideration he had shown to Mrs. Fitzherbert. Such were the thoughtful deeds of charity and kindness which in the eyes of the multitude more than covered the violations of state etiquette that scandalised the courtiers and polite

society. George IV. had awed the multitude by his artificial polish and magnificence of manner, had conciliated street mobs by the winning air of gracious condescension with which from his chariot he acknowledged their salutes. These were the people whose hearts William IV. won by a simplicity to which his brother had been always a stranger, and by the sailor-like bluntness that shocked the court and its high officers. For more than sixty years as Duke of Clarence he had been visible in town and country, but had not attracted a second look from a single by-stander. Directly he became king, he could not stir without a mob, patrician as well as plebeian, at his heels. Whenever he found himself within speaking distance of his people, he was never at a loss for friendly words that made him the idol of the populace. It was not, therefore, surprising, if his outspoken amiability made those about him fear lest, on these little progresses abroad, he would do and say too much; when his official advisers reminded him that the king's words were in fact his ministers', that his Majesty should therefore be chary of his utterances, he took the hint good-naturedly, but not to those who gave it, quite satisfactorily, admitting its good sense, but still for his own part refusing to be muzzled. The new king, as Duke of Clarence and a midshipman under Captain Digby of the Royal George, had in 1814 been in the squadron that attended Louis XVIII. on his return to France; the Duke of Clarence did well as a sailor and fairly earned, by good work, all his steps. When therefore, in 1827, Canning, as premier, revived the office of Lord High Admiral and, as said above, appointed to it the future sovereign, the appointment was universally popular. Canning with Huskisson

belonged to the moderate and progressive section of Tories who differed on most subjects from Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington. As Canning's former nominee to the post of naval honour, William IV. was expected himself to incline to the enlightened rather than to the reactionary school of Toryism; the general impression that Wellington was responsible for the prince's resignation of the post, given him by Canning, has been already mentioned. When therefore the new king attended the funeral of his predecessor, among those who stood near him as pall-bearers, notably the Duke of Buckingham and other champions of political reaction, there existed some alarm at the reputed Liberalism of the monarch. Later indeed William's constitutional attitude to his Whig ministers was to justify the earlier anticipations. Eventually it was the Wellington Tories to whose political complexion William IV. was to be subdued. During many weeks after his accession daily appeared newspaper paragraphs chronicling some fresh instance of his Majesty's simple kindliness, now of his eccentric humour. The chief authority for this purely personal talk is Charles Greville, the diarist. The new king, it seems, was constantly recognizing from his chariot old naval friends walking in the London streets; he insisted on stopping to give them, in his own phrase, a lift, and on dropping them at their respective destinations. Field marshals, privy councillors, secretaries of State, ambassadors extraordinary, or half-pay captains—it made no difference which of these it might be. The royal coach was constantly at the service of all; the royal coachman might find himself driving a thrifty veteran to a little house in a cheap suburb, the next day he was perhaps "dropping" the magnifi-

cent ambassador of a foreign sovereign to the English court at a palace in Mayfair. The king made a special point of showing that he had no personal grudges. The very fact that, as deposed admiral of the fleet, he might be suspected of a grievance against Wellington, caused William from the first to treat the duke with marked courtesy and confidence. The terms on which the Duke of Clarence had once been with Lord Eldon were rather more than indifferent. Finding Eldon Lord Chancellor, William IV. began a conversation, by expressing regret for any past differences between the two, in words which the dutiful lawyer interrupted, because he could not permit the language of apology to proceed from his sovereign's lips. In the same melo-dramatic tone, many years earlier, the devout lawyer, speaking of George III.'s disabling infirmities, fervently observed, "When I forget my king, may my God forget me." About the same time the king happened to meet on Salt Hill, near Eton, Lord Eldon's youngest son with another school friend. The boys were at once told to get up into the royal chariot, and taken back to dine at Windsor Castle.* Hospitality of the most comprehensive kind, especially if among the guests were some old naval officers, was the king's special delight. The number of persons entertained at the royal table is computed by the authority last quoted (Buckingham) at two thousand weekly. Some of these naval diners were allowed the same conversational candour as his Majesty himself. Thus the king was relating the importunities inflicted on him by an applicant for his help. "But," continued with a chuckle of satisfaction the monarch, "I got rid of

* Buckingham's *Courts and Cabinets of William IV.*, Vol. I., p. 30.

him. I made him a Knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order." "Served him —— well right," was the comment of another admiral, a former comrade now at the royal table. Such indiscriminating bonhomie had of course sometimes its inconveniences, for on one occasion, not knowing of course who he was, the king invited the clerk of his own kitchen to take his place at the royal dinner-table.

Soon after Queen Victoria's marriage, the Prince Consort performed a good, but not too popular work by putting down some of the needless waste that prevailed in the royal household. William IV. seems perfunctorily and spasmodically to have tried to anticipate these retrenchments. When the king made no show of taking any economical initiative himself, he did not reject economical advice from those about him. At the royal dinner-table, covers were seldom laid for less than forty. The controller of the household, Sir William Fremantle, was in constant dread of the expense, of reprimands from the Treasury officials and of censures pronounced by secret committees of enquiry into the royal expenditures. But none of these fears were fulfilled. His Majesty indeed continued to set no limit to those whom he asked to take "pot-luck." But the accounts were regularly kept; nor were any formal complaints made of the royal expenditure. The invitations themselves were as little ceremonial as possible. In nearly every case when the invited guest was a busy as well as a distinguished person, the king told his secretary to say that the invitation was not to be considered a command and that the guest was to suit his own convenience.

Industrial distress and social discontent, threatening political disturbances like those which had taken

place throughout Europe, prevailed in every part of the country. When after France had become impossible for him, Charles X. was known to contemplate a visit to England, William in his homely way said to one of his high officials at court, that for no French king, whether upon the throne or beneath it, would he run the risk of committing England to the hazard of a costly war. About this time too (1830), with a view to retrench the national expenses and lessen the burdens of the people, the House of Commons went into Committee for considering civil list expenditure; the debate on the subject was free from imputation of extravagance against William IV. The points chiefly noticed were not controversial. After Queen Anne's death parliament had to meet a royal debt incurred on the civil list of £500,000. During the reign of George I. liabilities of the same kind had accumulated to the amount of a million. On the death of George II. the civil list debts were half a million. The income of George III., during the greater portion of his reign, seldom fell below a million a year.* His court was frugal, even to meanness; he entertained but little, he inherited a large amount of ready money saved by his predecessor. Yet the civil list debts incurred by this thrifty sovereign were only just below four millions. These responsibilities were not of course at all due to the sovereign's love of personal pleasure or splendour, as in the case of George IV., about whom enough has been already said. The system of strengthening the royal prerogative by the "king's friends" involved a costly parliamen-

* May's *Constitutional History*, Vol. I., p. 206. See also the money statistics given in Burke's *Causes of Present Discontents.*

tary and electoral organisation. Yet neither George III.'s profusion for political ends, nor his successor's expenses as a self-indulgent man of the town, excited any real national dissatisfaction against the throne as an institution or even against its particular occupant. In the same speech in which William's minister explained his measures for kingly economy, amid cheers in the House, speedily echoed by the country, he congratulated parliament and the nation on the absence of any civil list debt to George IV. to defray; he even paid a grateful tribute to that sovereign for limiting to its proper amount at least some period of his expenditure. William IV. had indeed made some real concessions to the national exchequer; like his predecessor, he surrendered to parliament all the crown's hereditary revenues, representing an annual income of £800,000. Certain incidental sources of income, especially the crown's rights or interests in the admiralty and West Indian duties, hitherto regarded as the sovereign's peculiar appanage, were also ceded by William to parliament. Hence it followed that the new civil list was £85,000 less than that allowed to George IV. Altogether the saving now effected to the nation exceeded £160,000.

In nothing did William the Fourth more clearly show his political shrewdness than by the quickness with which he recognized, while detesting them all equally and resolved to withstand them so long as he safely could, the popular and parliamentary influences now at work, in favour of official and national thrift. Of these the most indefatigable was embodied in the person of a Scotchman of very ordinary appearance of the middle height, of drab-coloured hair, with an accent so strong as never to be toned down by the associations of Westminster.

This was Joseph Hume, whose career even before he entered parliament had been one of remarkable vicissitudes. Educated in the medical schools of Edinburgh, he had practised his profession under difficulties as great, under conditions nearly as trying and in places almost as mutually diverse as those in which Smollett placed his "Roderick Random;" upon this occasion Hume moved for returns of the pensions, given to the junior branches of the royal family, as well as those allowed to the households of George III. and IV.; these papers disclosed the facts that on George III.'s marriage his queen, Charlotte, had received a grant of £54,000 for jewels; that George IV.'s daughter, the Princess Charlotte, had received a handsome trousseau from the civil list, but that a like outfit for his Queen Adelaide had been declined for William IV.

Meanwhile, the king was rapidly removing himself further from those sympathies with progressive and liberal politics with which he had once been credited. The great questions which under this king were to make important progress, parliamentary reform, the abolition of West Indian slavery, the removal of such religious disabilities from the king's subjects as still remained, were all of them now, almost day by day, shaping themselves more clearly. All were equally frowned upon by the sovereign and insisted upon by those who represented the rising democracy; yet towards the sovereign himself the national good temper might almost have been said to be unbroken and untried. A partial explanation of this was found by the king, or those about him, in the exaggeration by the demagogues of the country's reforming zeal, and in the amusement which, through the rapidly increasing news-

paper press, the doings of crown and court continued to provide for the public. In certain military improvements some of William's regulations were found irksome; his dismissal for instance of the private band maintained by George IV., and the employment of the Life Guards bands to play for him, with their consequent inability to earn better pay elsewhere for their musical services. That perhaps which, in the doings of the king, chiefly delighted those outside polite society, was his Majesty's way of dealing with the great nobles about him, for whom the populace had no love. Thus upon one occasion he suddenly resolved to dine one night with the Duke of Wellington, then his prime minister. The king at once drove to the duke's house, walked straight into his dressing-room, gave instructions for the banquet, at which he was to be that evening a self-bidden guest, and of course placed his host under the necessity of entirely changing his private programme during several pre-occupied hours to come. This was the sort of thing which delighted the newspaper public of the time; it placed William's popularity on unassailable ground. The consequences of all this were as far-reaching as they were important. The later objection of this sovereign to franchise extension interposed many delays in the way of the final passing of the Grey Reform Bill; the whole court thus became an agency of Tory reaction. The simple, genial hospitality already described disarmed the assailants of the king's civil list. The Whig demonstration against royal expenditure was from the first hollow and insincere. It had in fact scarcely been made, when its authors abandoned, if they ever possessed, any real intention of interfering with the civil list. The

meditated attack upon pensions was postponed indefinitely; when at last it was delivered, it recoiled upon its authors.

At the same time, though the personal position of William IV. could safely defy any attacks upon himself or his entourage, certain political results not to be underrated were about to occur. The effect of William's surrender, described above, of the traditional crown revenues had been to secure for him a civil list of £510,000. Before that arrangement was concluded, a select committee of the House of Commons had been at work on the subject; the Wellington administration, which existed on William's accession, owed its fall more to its resistance to this inquiry than to any other cause. Probably, too, to this investigation and its collateral circumstances may be referred the king's final determination to deal with the Whigs as they had been treated by his father, George III.; before the civil list matter was settled on the terms already named, the House of Commons committee stipulated for reductions to the amount of between £11,000 and £12,000 in the salaries paid to court officials. That reduction drew from the king the remonstrance, "If the people, according to the threatened Reform Bill, are to govern the House of Commons and that House is to decide upon my salaries to my servants, then the crown's prerogatives pass to the people and the monarchy cannot exist." The royal appeal was perfectly successful; the reductions were not pressed; even Lord Grey's Whig ministry, under which the question came up for final adjustment, felt obliged to use its influence with the Commons in the direction the king desired. Consequently the civil list of William IV. stood at the amount originally proposed.

Notwithstanding the popular acquiescence in William IV.'s expenditure, Sir Henry Parnell's anti-court motion on the civil list was carried in the early autumn of 1830, by a rather larger majority against ministers than had been expected. Upon this resigned the Duke of Wellington, who some little time previously had thrown down a challenge to the promoters of parliamentary reform. The duke's exact words, which the sovereign afterwards made his own, were: "The legislature and the system of legislation as they already are deservedly possess the full confidence of the country." To much the same effect had previously spoken the duke's old colleague, Canning, who, though liberal in all his views of foreign politics, of financial and commercial legislation, was never, as had been Pitt, a parliamentary reformer; he always maintained the representative system of England to be as near perfection as it is given to human fallibility to approach.

Even when during his earlier days he was vaguely supposed to possess liberal sympathies in political matters, William IV. can hardly have cherished any enthusiasm for reform, or have believed in the disinterestedness of its promoters. He knew that in 1780 the Duke of Richmond, a reputed Whig, had brought in a motion for enlarging the parliamentary franchise. He recollected, however, that before the Whigs had taken up the subject as their own, the elder Pitt, after he had become in effect a Tory, had advocated similar proposals, and that his son, William Pitt, the prime minister, had actually anticipated in his abortive measure some of the specific proposals contained in the Grey Bill of 1831. William IV. further recalled the fact that while yet a member of the House of Commons, Grey impressed

upon the Whigs, then pulverised after their overthrow, by George III. and George IV., the impossibility of reorganising themselves with any other cry than that of government by the people, for the people, through a parliament, genuinely elected of the people. The historic title of the Whigs to deal with reform was not practically disputed till the Derby-Disraeli Reform Act of 1867–8. But William IV. saw that the Whigs possessed no priority of claim. Not without some reason, he shrewdly suspected their interest in the matter to be no more unselfish or less calculating than that of the Tories. On William's accession, Whiggism, not to mention Liberalism, was not an active force. The overthrow of the Wellington cabinet in the autumn of 1830 was brought about less by the hostile enterprise of its opponents than by the indifference and abstentions of its supporters. The Duke of Wellington's popularity and influence had for some time been on the wane; he had indeed revived by his masterly plan for the defence of London, against the rioters a few years earlier, something of the enthusiasm he had excited by his Peninsular strategy. In the year of William's accession, the Duke of Wellington found himself in a minority, because parliament wished not to put Lord Grey in so much as to get the duke out. But his present defeat in the House of Commons was due to the abstention of his nominal supporters from voting, rather than to the numbers and discipline of his declared enemies. The duke, it will be remembered, had discountenanced Canning's desire to carry Catholic Emancipation. Within two years of Canning's death, the duke had himself brought forward and successfully conducted through all its stages the very measure of whose principle

Canning was the real author. The Toryism of the period had long been undergoing a modification. From an uncompromising resistance to all change such as Lord Eldon embodied, it had become little more than a cautious resolve to accompany innovation by safeguards against abuse. Canning, conspicuously supported by Huskisson, was the posthumous founder of the moderate Conservative party that gradually superseded the older and more absolute Toryism. It was the Canning section of the duke's followers who had refused to obey the party whip on the civil list motion, and who by their absence were to place in power a ministry pledged to that reform which their leader, Canning, had declared to be as mischievous and unnecessary as it had been described by the Duke of Wellington himself.

The lustre of the duke's victories over Napoleon was indeed still fresh, but a notion existed that he had not given due credit to the assistance rendered to him by some of the distinguished officers on his staff, especially Lord Anglesey. Thus for the time the great captain's moral influence with his political followers seems to have been weakened. Add to this that many of his party had wearied of the military discipline which their commander had adapted from the camp to the senate; the explanation of the Tory defeat seems tolerably simple. No sooner, however, was the Wellington government out than negotiations commenced for bringing it back. Lord Grey, the only alternative to the duke, was thought to be personally unacceptable to the court. There seemed, however, no sufficient reason for attributing to the king the attempt to re-establish the defeated cabinet. Wellington was so incomparably the greatest of Englishmen then living as by his very name and

the memory of his deeds to awe, even in the hour of their victory, the rebels against his authority, with remorse for their presumption. The probability, therefore, is that the proceedings following the duke's resignation originated with the Conservative malcontents themselves and were not instigated by William IV. At the juncture now reached, no Tory noble stood higher in the royal confidence, or filled a social station more commanding than the Duke of Buckingham. Not, as it would seem, without some difficulty, this peer was induced to act as intermediary between the king and the resigned premier. Whatever the precise origin of the project, nothing of course came of it. The exact proposal submitted to Wellington was not simply to resume office as if nothing had happened, but to form a new administration on a wider basis. To the king such a scheme must have been distasteful. To the duke it appeared preposterous. It would not, as in effect he said to the Duke of Buckingham, be fair to the sovereign; it would not be consistent in himself; finally, were he capable of thinking of it, the duke, who hated and despised compromises, was persuaded that the plan would not succeed. The duke was going to his seat, Strathfieldsaye, in Hampshire, as Lord Lieutenant of the county, to serve the king in another capacity. He would not, therefore, talk of retiring from the royal service, but he would not join the scheme for getting together another administration. The conclusion at which the Duke of Wellington had now arrived was expressed by him to the king during a very free conversation upon public affairs. Referring to the feverish anxiety consuming every man's mind, the duke maintained that nobody wished for or had confidence in any

change. Evidently the duke, like the sovereign, believed that the reform agitation would soon die a natural death. As for the Grey administration, which followed the Wellington government, William IV.'s homely comment was, that given enough rope, Whigs and Radicals would hang themselves.

Instead of a democratic reconstitution of the electoral body, followed by a period of Liberal legislation, the letters and conversations between the Dukes of Buckingham, of Wellington, and the sovereign, reported in the memoirs of the period, especially in the Duke of Buckingham's, show the expectation in high quarters to have been a strong Tory reaction at an early date and a successful reorganisation of the Tory party with an anti-popular programme. If the shrewdest minds in political life missed the significance and reality of the demand for reform, and misinterpreted the national temper of the subject, one need not be surprised that William IV. should have underrated the political forces, which had long since lost, if they ever possessed, his sympathies. Personally William could scarcely avoid sharing the opinion of the privileged classes, whose natural head he was, that the whole agitation would prove infinitely less serious, than it suited the democratic party to represent it as being. Politically and publicly, however, the king adopted the only course properly open to him. He placed himself in the hands of his responsible advisers. His action thus presented a complete contrast to the policy, which either of his two latest predecessors would probably have pursued. George III., by strategy and cunning, would surely have found a way to get rid of the Grey government. George IV., while pretending to support it, would have secretly, per-

haps successfully, worked against it. On the whole, William's conduct was approved by all reasonable critics of his time. It received indeed the cordial commendations of those Tories who did not share Lord Eldon's belief, that the influence of the crown should and would be used to resist popular legislation. Politicians of that extreme school were confirmed in the "disgust and indignation" mentioned by Greville, that the sovereign had not withdrawn his confidence from the men, whom the state of parliamentary parties and of popular feeling had placed in office for the express purpose of carrying the Reform Bill. Before any detailed examination of William IV.'s personal relations with his Reform government, it may be convenient briefly to trace the progress of the Reform movement. During the earlier part of the Georgian period, corruption in the House of Commons and venality in the constituencies did not scandalise, but were rather consonant with, the social opinion of the country; they were in fact the political reflections of the moral corruptions of the national polity. Drunkenness and debauchery openly rampant in the best society, a middle class, coarse, uneducated, self-indulgent, the industrial orders hardened by poverty, neglect, and debased by the vicious example of their betters; illiterateness practically universal; a total absence of those refinements of life, which a few generations later were looked upon as necessities of existence;—an age marked by the characteristics such as these could be animated by no desire that the political life of the country should be more national or more pure. The national consummation, which Bolingbroke once predicted, seemed indeed to be all but completely realised. No longer in danger of being

awed by prerogative, the people of Britain were induced by corruption to choose as their representatives in parliament, dependents on a court, the creatures of a minister, or others having no recommendations but that which they carry in their purses; "then," continues Bolingbroke, "may our constitution be called no longer able to preserve itself or to defend liberty." That the disasters and disgraces predicted under such conditions by this prophet did not all of them follow, but that through all the English people were the freest and the greatest in the world, must be ascribed to certain antidotes to political evil, inherent in the English character and polity. The close union between the English representative and the English territorial system had, from the earliest days, made a seat in the House of Commons an object of social ambition. Hence, even during the darkest days of the earlier Georges, the popular chamber at Westminster attracted the best ability of the country. The very limited class, that in those days returned members to the House of Commons, in respect of knowledge, enlightenment and regard for liberty, was often noticeably above the standard of the age. The freedom of the press, established in this country long before journalism had become a vocation, was another saving influence for good. Finally a succession of great men, when public spirit was lowest, always kept before a parliament corrupt or exclusive and a country degenerate or indifferent an ideal national and incorrupt or representative government. Out of Lord Chatham's discontent with his contemporary Whigs grew the Conservative party. Chatham, too, because not of what he could do, but of what he advocated, may be called the first of parliamentary reformers. In 1776, he had denounced borough representation

as the rotten part of our constitution, doomed not to continue a century; four years later he suggested the addition of a third member to every county, to counterbalance the weight of corrupt and venal boroughs. The next reformer was of a kind very different from Chatham. In 1776, John Wilkes prepared a bill for giving additional members to London, to certain great counties, for enlarging the county constituencies generally and for enfranchising the rich populous trading centres, Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield; the debate on this measure took place March 21, 1776, and ended in its being rejected without a division. That, too, was the fate of the next Reform Bill advocating annual parliaments, universal suffrage, equal electoral districts, and brought in, not by a Radical commoner, but by a Whig duke, his Grace of Richmond. Three years later, while fighting the Coalition government, William Pitt, May 7, 1783, declared the reverses of the American War to have been caused by the corrupt state of the House of Commons and the secret influence of the crown; the chief features of the measures he proposed were stringent precautions for preserving electoral purity, the disfranchisement of corrupt boroughs and additions to the metropolitan and county members; universal suffrage Pitt was careful to condemn. His resolutions were rejected by a majority of 144. In 1787, as premier, Pitt actually brought in a Reform Bill embodying some of the points now named. The king disapproved of the measure; the Portland and FitzWilliam Whigs, in other matters supporting Pitt, joined with the Tories in resisting it, and the cause of electoral reform fell into the hands of private members, chief among whom were Alderman Sawbridge, and a little later, the Irish member, Flood.

Long before he became chief of a Reform government, the future lord, then Mr. Grey, in the May of 1793, had introduced his earliest reform proposals; a more unsuitable time could not have been conceived. It was one of the great Napoleon's aphorisms that a revolution in France means a revolution in Europe. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the excesses, marking the great social and political upheaval on the other side of the Channel, were too fresh in the memory for any suggestions of political change in England not to be rejected with loathing and horror. But just a generation later France was the scene of events which made the demand for parliamentary reform in England irresistible. In 1830 the ordinances against the press proved fatal to the monarchy of Charles X. Those famous "Days of July," which sent Charles X. to England as the guest of William IV., and which quietly placed a citizen king, Louis Philippe, on the French throne, showed the world that a nation's government might be changed without society being dissolved. The memories of 1793 ceased to be arguments against reform. The English middle classes, hitherto scared by the mere name, no longer saw a possible Robespierre in Grey, and began to make common cause with the reforming Whigs, from whom they had long held aloof. An irresistible impulse was thus given to the Liberal movement throughout Europe generally, and especially in England. About this time, too, the lowering of the parliamentary franchise passed out of the hands of the more extreme men* first identified with the pro-

* Such at one time had been considered Sir Francis Burdett, who however afterwards recanted his extravagances and became a convinced Tory.

posal, and began to be identified with grave and responsible politicians, so little likely to risk a revolution as the ducal and opulent House of Bedford. The respectable classes were reassured. They even co-operated with the well-born Whig politicians in helping on the settlement of a question which it was now clear could not be kept open any longer without inconvenient disturbance to the country, and without obstructing other necessary legislation. As for the king, there is conclusive evidence to show that up to the very last William IV. did not believe the possibility of a sweeping measure being brought forward by a ministry of which men so moderate and of social prejudices so aristocratic as Lords Palmerston and Stanley were leading spirits. Even Lord John Russell, who, though not of the cabinet, introduced the measure in the House of Commons, if a friend of the people, could not be charged with being an enemy of the Constitution. Finally the disciples of Castlereagh in the Grey government, and the adherents of Canning, Lord Goderich and Charles Grant, all personal friends of the king, were reported to have assured his Majesty of the moderation and harmlessness of the impending measure.

These prophecies of soft things, which were not to be entirely verified by the event, came to a head on March 2, 1831; on that afternoon, in a crowded House, amid breathless silence, intense but suppressed excitement, Lord John Russell rose to ask for leave to bring in and to explain the bill of which every mind was full. The mere fact, it had been said, of not a cabinet minister, but a subordinate member of the government, being in charge of the measure, showed it to be of no great importance. The king himself had thought of being present in

some conveniently obscure corner to hear the speech; most wisely he was not even represented in the House by any member of his family. Lord John Russell spoke for two hours. Long before he sat down, the outlines of unexpectedly drastic proposals caused some of his hearers to experience emotions of surprise, excitement or disgust, too strong for them even to attempt to conceal. When were read the schedules announcing the places to be disfranchised, the faces of the members for the doomed seats became a ludicrous study. Sir Charles Wetherall, a leading Tory and a great parliamentary personage, followed Lord John Russell's unfolding of the plan with an accompaniment of contortions, grimaces and flinging about of arms and legs. Finally he threw down the notes which he had been carefully taking, with a gesture of despair, ridicule, terror and scorn, audibly murmuring to a friend beside him: "after the Duke of Wellington and Peel carrying the Catholic Question, Canning's friends advocating radical reform, and Eldon living to see Brougham on the Woolsack, what may not one expect!" The debates that followed brought out all that was best in the highest parliamentary ability of the time; they impressed not only England but foreign countries with an admiration for the shrewdness, practical knowledge, readiness and eloquence of the Reform Parliament. To many impartial students of the speeches at this distance of time, the opponents of the measure will seem to have had the better of the discussion. The speech of Macaulay, the historian and essayist, then a new member of the House of Commons, was in his happiest style and reads today like an extract from some of his very best writing; as a matter of argument, it was, however, an-

swered by John Wilson Croker, the Mr. Rigby of Disraeli's *Coningsby,* and by more than one other among the Tory Opposition. No debate has ever been borrowed from more by later speakers on parliamentary reform. The vindication first made by Sir Harry Inglis in 1831 of small boroughs as the chosen door by which exceptionally able men, Pitt, Canning and Brougham, have entered the House of Commons was drawn upon freely in the 1867 Reform debates, as well as by Mr. Gladstone on later occasions, such as the Equalisation of the Borough and County Franchise in 1884.

Before they had submitted their plan to the public, Lord Grey and his colleagues described it as one which would give general satisfaction. Practical politicians, not being party men, more correctly predicted that the bill, while sure to alarm the moderates, would not go far enough to satisfy the Radicals. Beyond the immediate and intense excitement it created, everything about the measure seemed uncertain. Different classes varied in their opinion of its prospects. The same classes and the same individuals were seldom of one mind for two days running as to its chances of success. The idea of the court seems from the first to have been that the parliamentary division on the bill ought in the Tory interest to have been taken at once. Had that counsel prevailed, the government might probably have been beaten during the earlier stages of the bill. That a majority for it could at any moment have been whipped up in the country, was never doubtful. When time had elapsed for petitions and addresses in its favour to pour in, the parliamentary fate of the measure was no longer uncertain. The people's representatives at Westminster could not reject what

massed meetings and monster petitions throughout the country had so emphatically endorsed and supported. The king or his court soon set the polite world the example of a forecast of the measures and effects, which had nothing about it sensational, and which upon the whole was to be verified by the actual sequel. By these the tendency of the bill was predicted to throw power into the hands of the landed interest. Hence it was said a great Tory party, selfish and bigoted, would be found confronting a Radical party, while the Whigs, the original authors of this English Revolution, would sink into insignificance. Just a fortnight after its introduction by Lord John Russell, the Reform Bill was printed, specific criticism of its detailed provisions became possible, it was being handled severely in committee. Both parties professed themselves confident of victory on the second reading. Few capable judges had any doubt as to the measure eventually passing in nearly the same shape as it was introduced.

One feature in the reform debates, destined to prove hereafter of some significance to the English party system and to the sovereign, has not generally received the attention it deserves; it may be briefly noticed here. The king had some reason to complain of the tactics towards the Reform Bill of the Tory Opposition leaders; these, if they had not actually promised him its defeat, had from the first spoken disparagingly of its general prospect. Since the measure had been before parliament, the Tories by their supineness and disunion had astonished even their adversaries. Sir Robert Peel's inactivity had been masterly only from the point of view of ministers themselves. It had disheartened most of his followers, positively alienated many; it had made

some ripe for the party schism, which was to take place when in the next reign that statesman became a convert to Free Trade. If they could have found any substitute for him, the Tory rank and file who had not yet adopted the Conservative name would have dismissed Peel from their leadership in 1831, instead of waiting for the events which brought about his supersession in 1846, titularly by Lord George Bentinck, really by Disraeli. Cold, phlegmatic, calculating, reluctant to recognise merit or promise among younger and rising men;—such was the general party estimate of Peel, long before Disraeli, when first returned to the House of Commons, applied to Peel for office. With the Reform Bill period too may be held to have originated the unpopularity with which, however slightly, Peel and his followers were long regarded at court, which, if at the later period it did not actually stand in the way of Peel's official usefulness, did certainly on more than one occasion embarrass the sovereign in the selection of an incoming minister. While these reform debates were going forward, they were varied by a parliamentary incident, which may just be mentioned because it suggested to the quick practical mind of William IV. the importance of the British empire abroad as a parliamentary influence at home. One of the earliest majorities hostile to the Grey administration was largely colonial, as in its composition, so in the immediate motive of its vote. On March 20, 1831, King William was elated at the news that the Whig government had been left in a minority of forty-three, at the close of an angry, noisy and even scandalous debate on the timber trade. The political combination that accomplished this defeat was made up pretty equally of colonial, protectionist,

and Puritan elements; the West Indian interest had now become a power at Westminster. Upon the present occasion its representatives had co-operated with the Evangelical champions of the movement against slavery and with the special friends which Canada and Canadian commerce now possessed at Westminster. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorpe had proposed taking off five shillings from the duty on Baltic timber and adding ten shillings to the duty on Canadian timber. This slight reverse was not to prove of evil omen to the greater issue of the government. On March 23, three days later, the House of Commons divided at 3 A. M., and carried the second reading of the Reform Bill by the smallest majority ever known in a full House by a single vote, the figures being 303 for and 302 against. Both sides throughout the evening seemed equally confident of success; but at the moment before the division ministers expected a defeat; only a few votes considered uncertain, cast on their side, just saved them from discomfiture. If the debate itself made or unmade individual reputations in parliament, the division which closed it almost caused fortunes to be won or lost. For in Westminster, Pall Mall and Mayfair, many thousands of pounds changed owners in bets made on the issue. The king, who had arranged the following night to go to the opera, did not appear in his box; the next time his Majesty was seen abroad it was noticed that he wore mourning. This, it was said, was the first time the sovereign showed by his dress a grief in whose signs his subjects did not share; the royal regret at the Reform division was absurdly mentioned as the cause. The real reason however seems to have been that the king's son-in-law, Kennedy, had just died.

The predicted dissatisfaction of radicalism with the Reform Bill was not slow in manifesting itself. On April 14, 1831, the political campaign was opened anew with a violent speech from "Orator Hunt," * denouncing the Grey measure as a delusion which would give the people nothing they wanted and increase rather than reduce the cost of the necessities of life. Hunt at this time represented Preston. Here it should be said the Reform Bill actually operated as a disfranchising measure, because it took away the old-fashioned suffrages, which in Preston, as in some other places, had practically made every one a voter. Meanwhile it looked as if the king might be right after all. As William predicted, the excitement was gradually subsiding and the opinion growing that though the measure would probably pass, it might be rejected without a revolution or any very alarming consequences to the crown and the privileged orders. For the moment, however, the battle was beginning again; the Duke of Wellington and the king still professed to think the measure might be disposed of at the committee stage. General Gascoigne carried by eight votes a motion that the bill should not reduce the number of members now sitting in the House of Commons. Such an instruction would of course have been fatal, if the ministers at once decided on an appeal to the country. Upon this, Lord Wharncliffe moved for an address to the king not to dissolve parliament. A second ministerial defeat followed in committee on a motion for adjournment. The next

* Henry Hunt, 1773–1835, a Wiltshire farmer who turned Radical after having been imprisoned for his connection with the Peterloo Massacre, and afterwards became Radical M.P. for Preston.

day the king was induced by Lord Grey himself to appear in parliament and to announce the exercise of his prerogative of proroguing the Houses. But Lord Grey and his colleagues desired dissolution, not prorogation, so that they might return from the constituencies with a new mandate to carry their reform proposed. Hence Lord Wharncliffe's anti-dissolution motion, hence too the determined attempt of ministers to anticipate it. It was really a race against time; on the one hand the Tories, pressing for prorogation; on the other hand the ministerial Whigs, intent upon dissolution. Both sides were equally anxious for their own different purposes to get the king to Westminster. Between the two the sovereign's position was not more comfortable than it was dignified. William, however, had made up his mind personally to appear upon the scene. When told that his cream-coloured horses, used on state occasions, could not be got ready, he exclaimed, "Then I will have other horses or drive down in a hackney cab." The next thing was to fetch the crown from the Tower, where it was kept and whence it was presently brought in a carriage. Meanwhile both the legislative chambers presented a scene of the wildest confusion. In the Commons, Sir R. Vyvyan delivered a rattling attack against the government, punctuated at each fresh hit by deafening cheers from both sides. Then ensued a noisy rivalry between Sir Francis Burdett and Sir Robert Peel for addressing the House. The Speaker decided for Peel. While the Conservative leader was thundering amidst a tempest of human voices against the government, the booming of the big guns from the Tower, audible above the parliamentary uproar, announced the arrival of the king. The cannonade was the signal for fresh government

cheers; in the middle of these, while Peel was still on his legs, Black Rod knocked at the door, summoning the Commons to the Peers, where his Majesty now was, and where, amid an uproar not less than that of the Lower House, Lord Wharncliffe was so far frustrating the Whig attempts to stifle his anti-dissolution motion, as to bring it to the point, at which it could be formally "entered upon" the journals of the House. The Duke of Richmond was foremost among those who tried to stop debate, by perpetually raising points of order, moving that the Lords should take their regular places; this was physically impossible, because at a royal sitting the cross benches are removed. On the other side Lord Londonderry, who five minutes earlier had entered Palace Yard on horseback, was together with Lord Lyndhurst in a white heat of furious excitement. He rose from his seat in a frenzy of anger, roared, gesticulated, flourished his horse-whip, had to be held down by his coat-tails by four or five peers to prevent his flying at somebody. Then rose Lord Mansfield to anathematise ministers. In the middle of that speech the king entered from the robing room, accompanied by the Keeper of his Conscience, Lord Brougham, who nimbly skipped in and out of the House, protesting the while with all the incoherence of passion against the uproar at the king's undoubted right to dissolve parliament. In the robing room hard by could be heard the sovereign's voice: "Lord Hastings, Lord Hastings, I wear the crown." "Where the —— is it?" This, the king had not yet a legal right to do, for his formal coronation was still to take place. Lord Hastings was however about to set the diadem on the royal brow, when William anticipated the movement, put the ensign of kingship

on his own brow, snapped his fingers at Lord Grey, and said, "Now, my lord, the coronation is over."* In this way the king at last reached his throne in the peers' chamber; the curtain that had risen upon a noisy farce, as it fell just disclosed a striking and rather grimly suggestive situation and group; upon his throne sat the self-crowned monarch with the gold circlet loosely placed and rather awry on his head. Ominously beside him stood the tall dark figure of Lord Grey; the minister, holding the sword of state, might have been taken for the king's executioner. The whole effect was thought by Tory spectators to be dismally prophetic of the future destinies of crown, court, aristocracy and country.

Thus was effected the closing of William IV.'s first Reform Parliament. The dissolution threatened by the Whigs was not popularly believed to have the royal sanction until it was an accomplished fact. Never was sovereign placed between so inevitable a cross-fire of criticism in whatever he might do, as William on this occasion. If he had listened to the advice of his court, of polite society, or even to the opinion of his middle-class subjects, he would have refused to intervene; he would have found many to approve his conduct, had he after their defeat on the Gascoigne amendment required his ministers to resign. The upper, that is the well-to-do and commercial, classes did not consider the country ripe for the point to which strictly constitutional conduct was carried by the sovereign. These persons had at first applauded, the more so from its

* The incidents in this memorable ceremonial are taken from the account of eye-witnesses. Greville *Memoirs*, Vol. II., pp. 138–141.

contrast to George IV.'s obstructive and double-dealing with his advisers, the king's conduct in putting himself implicitly into the hands of his ministers. Now the same critics began to think his Majesty had gone too far, that he was paralysing his own freedom of action and opinion, and suffering himself to be made the instrument of any changes, however violent. The one question now uppermost in all minds was, had William IV. any strong or clear political opinions of his own? Those who knew him best and most closely observed his conduct in this crisis seemed to think he had not. The probability rather is that, like so many of his order and like others of his dynasty, William IV. possessed a strong vein of good-natured, rather cynical fatalism, that upon the whole he believed the monarchy would comfortably last out his time; he could therefore bear with resignation the prospect of any deluge which might come after him. Above all, and not without reason, William was possessed with the idea of his own popularity, which, he persisted in believing, would bring him and his family safely through everything. Not even the least pleasant signs of the times seriously shook that reassuring faith. The king's visit to the city was put off on the plea of his health, really, it was thought, because there had been a good deal of window-breaking and other disturbance to the east as well as to the west of Temple Bar. The queen, however, went to a concert about this time, without a military guard. On her return the mob swarmed round the carriage; the tall footmen with their big canes beat the people off as heads were being thrust into the royal coach. Her Majesty, though of course frightened, maintained her composure. Her husband, who could hear the tumult outside the

palace from afar, waiting for her return, walked nervously up and down his room. He now began to feel reform a nuisance to be cleared out of the way as soon as possible. From the beginning, therefore, of the London season, that is from the May of 1831, while the elections in boroughs and counties were universally favourable to the reformers, it began to be rumoured that the sovereign had decided to overcome the resistance of the Upper House to the Lower by creating as many new peers as might be wanted.

Aristocratic influence and the widely extending power of family and territorial connections would, it was thought, have proved fatal to the bill. As a fact all these forces immediately gave way before the tide of democratic pressure. But the issue long remained doubtful, partly because it did not go the full length desired by Radicalism, ready even then to anticipate the later points of the Charter, partly, too, because, as in the already mentioned case of Preston, the measure swept away so many old parliamentary franchises. The upper and middle classes were reinforced in their resistance by entire sections of the multitude. If William IV., as in such a case his two predecessors would certainly have done, had used his personal popularity to excite national feeling against the bill, reform might have been delayed till beyond his time. As it was, the king, while not disguising his dislike of Lord Grey's proposals, counterworked them only in what may be called a constitutional way; he denounced them with the wealth of expletives with which men then were wont to emphasise their talk, and in the use of which the Brunswick dynasty was always proficient. He had, however, for some time resigned

himself to some legislation like that prepared by Lord Grey; having done so, he presently began personally to weary of hearing the matter talked about; he probably believed there was more peril to the crown and to the privileged classes in keeping the matter open, than in agreeing quickly with his adversaries on the terms now submitted. He showed, too, his entire loyalty to his government in many ways, more or less significant. Thus, when were mentioned to him certain details showing that his chancellor, Lord Brougham, was encouraging the reformers at Liverpool and other great towns, the king carefully avoided gratifying his Tory informant by expressing any private views on the point; also, about the same time, in the case of an address from the city, William IV. would do nothing towards returning an answer, until he had discussed with his ministers the chief points in the drafted reply. At court, and especially among the set particularly favoured by the king, none of the Grey ministry gave greater offence than was given by Lord Brougham. Yet when Grey was thought likely to resign the premiership, and conjecture was busy with his successor, William IV. let it be known that he would have been prepared to accept Brougham as chancellor and prime minister, just as Clarendon had combined the two offices under Charles II.

In the June of 1831 met the new parliament chosen after the dissolution, which, in the manner already described, the king had been induced to hurry on so as to anticipate Lord Wharncliffe's motion. Party feeling had never before run higher, nor more malignantly affected the relationships of private life. Duels caused by parliamentary recriminations were of daily occurrence. To polite

society, as well as to the whole country, William IV. set a wholesome example of perfect composure and of good-humoured self-control. His position was one of extraordinary difficulty. On both sides, for their own private or party ends, politicians were quoting the sovereign as personally favouring their own mutually conflicting views. Gossip of this sort was unavoidable. The sovereign could safely ask that his conduct might be judged by his public acts. A few days before the new parliament of 1831 met, Lord Grey received the blue ribbon of the Garter from his sovereign's hands; the circumstances of the investment were exceptional. The only famous precedent indeed for the decoration being given without an actual vacancy among the Knights, was its bestowal upon Lord Carteret after his return from Paris on concluding peace with Napoleon; then the whole assembly rose, as the new knight entered, to cheer him. The idea of decorating Lord Grey seems to have originated only with the king, who, as a fact, wrote to his premier conveying his opinion that it was of highest importance at such a season for the statesman to receive an undoubted mark of his sovereign's satisfaction. For the moment, indeed, the royal doubts and fears about the dissolution, which the Whigs impressed upon him, had passed away. The ministers had, to his own honour, closely identified the monarch with their proposals, had declared in fact that all praise for the bill would belong to the crown only, had plied the palace with arguments to prove the measure's indubitable success. "A plain, vulgar, hospitable gentleman with a numerous family and suite; with none of George IV.'s foreigners or toad-eaters,—opening his doors to all the world, basing himself upon popular support, de-

termined, whatever his own private inclinations, to trust in the government."* Such was the national idea of William IV. at this political crisis. The impression thus formed was personally useful to the king. To his ministers and their measure it was absolutely indispensable. The king's good-humour and his genial comments on the situation were in every mouth. On June 23, he had opened parliament with his own speech. Referring to the crowded state of the Upper House, a Whig courtier, Lord Lansdowne, expressed his fear that his Majesty might not be able to see his faithful Commons. "Never mind," was the laughing reply, "they shall hear me, I promise you." Accordingly, in the stentorian tones in which he may have given commands on the quarter-deck, the sailor-king shouted out the words so clearly that not a syllable was lost in any part of the assembly. Meanwhile the monotony of the parliamentary progress of reform was to be broken by the greatest of all court pageants. During the Wharncliffe episode his Majesty, it will be remembered, had himself placed his crown on his head, with the words, "Now the coronation is over." The heavy taxation had indeed suggested to the king's advisers the possibility of dispensing with the customary ceremonial. The premier had for some time been holding daily conferences with court and government officials on the subject. The Duke of Wellington had, however, very plainly and forcibly declared that the absence of a public coronation would be almost treasonable. In the case of George IV. the function had occupied the whole day and had cost only a little under a quarter of a million of money. Anything like that expenditure was out

* Greville *Memoirs*, Vol. II., p. 151.

of the question now. It had, therefore, become necessary to see what degree of monarchical magnificence might consist with democratic economy. On the 15th July, 1831, a committee of the privy council, at which were present not only all the cabinet ministers, but the highest ecclesiastics, and some of the royal dukes, met at the privy council office to arrange the great event. Lord Brougham raised serious objections to any omissions from the usual services in Westminster Abbey. A day or two later the king himself appeared before his councillors, formally consented in a little speech to be crowned to satisfy the consciences of those who thought it necessary, but insisted, in view of the distress from which England, like other countries, was suffering, on the duty of the ceremony being economically conducted. Brougham still opposed any curtailments. Lord Grey, however, pointed out as practicable and harmless one or two omissions which were actually made. One of the several councils which this great business involved was marked by a characteristic display of the royal humour. The king, regular and punctual as he was, contrived to keep his councillors waiting about three times as long as his capricious and irregular predecessor. At the council held September 3, 1831, to sanction a new great seal, and to deface the old one, the hammer for the defacement had been forgotten. The Lord Chancellor possessed a traditional claim for the seals now become useless; when his Majesty was on the point of handing the precious relic to Brougham, that keeper of the royal conscience spoke of some doubt as to whether Lord Lyndhurst, who sat on the woolsack at the accession, was not entitled to part of the treasure. "Well,"

said the king, "then I will judge between you like Solomon; here," turning the seal round and round, "now do you cry heads or tails." All laughed. The chancellor said, "I take the bottom part." The king opened the two compartments of the seal, remarking, "Now, then I employ you as ministers of taste. Send for Bridge, my silversmith; desire him to convert the two halves, each into a salver, with my arms on one side and yours on the other, and Lord Lyndhurst the same. You will take one and give him the other, and both keep them as presents from me." The omission of the historic ceremony or its serious curtailment would, as both the Duke of Wellington and Lord Brougham had seen, have been a serious disappointment to the capital and to the country, and might have appreciably interfered with the popularity of the king. The daughter of the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Victoria, had already, in a short Regency Bill, to take effect in certain eventualities, been mentioned as a future regent of the realm; her mother, the Duchess of Kent, had for some time been on no very cordial terms with the court, from which she absented herself entirely during the reign of George IV. Those who were most intimate with the court and with the mind of George, for instance, Greville, the diarist,* believed the king could have shown his dislike to the Duchess of Kent, as he often threatened to do, by taking from her her daughter, the Princess Victoria, but for the Duke of Cumberland's tactful and kindly mediation. On George's death, the Duchess of Kent wrote, it seems, to the Duke of Cumberland, asking for herself the court recognition given to a Dowager Princess of Wales, and for

* Greville, Vol. II., p. 195.

her daughter, as well as for herself, a suitable allowance, to be controlled entirely by the duchess. The Duke of Cumberland replied that it did not come within his province, but pledged his word to use his influence so as to prevent anything affecting the interest of duchess or princess being settled without consulting both of them. Subsequently, however, the Duchess of Kent was not entirely satisfied with the procedure conferring under certain contingencies the regency upon the future queen; the difference, however, was amicably composed long before her Majesty's accession, it would appear even before the ceremony in Westminster Abbey of formally crowning William IV. That pageant took place successfully on September 16, 1831. The king reached the Abbey punctually to the moment at the hour fixed for his arrival, eleven o'clock. The arrangements had been perfectly made, were carried through without the slightest hitch, as is best described in the king's own comment on the event: "The coronation went off so well, that, whereas no one was satisfied before it, everybody was after it." William IV., though shortly afterwards appearing slightly ruffled in temper at one or two of his levées, flouncing in and out of the room, it was said, in the highest dudgeon, now reprimanding a cabinet minister, now finding fault with an officer of his household, soon reappeared radiant with good humour, and supplied the town with almost as much material for gossip as he had given it on his accession. That was the aim of songs, sentiments and speeches after dinner; within a day or two of his coronation William IV. entertained ninety guests, including his chief ministers and the Corps Diplomatique, delivered a long, rambling address in French, winding

up with a sentiment, "The land we live in." When the ladies had left the room, his Majesty made another speech, also in French, concluding it with a coarse toast, followed by the words, "Honi soit qui mal y pense." The statesmen present were naturally so horrified as to be ready, in Lord Grey's words, "to sink into the earth." Every one, however, laughed. A peer seated next to the French ambassador said quietly, "Eh bien! que pensez-vous de cela?" Talleyrand's immovable and expressionless face must have been more than ever an enigmatical study, as he answered, "C'est très remarquable."

Notwithstanding his eccentricities, the alarm or offence given by these to many of those about him, during his whole reign, in a way that none of his predecessors had done or perhaps tried to do, William IV. made his presence felt by every one as the directing chief of polite society. He liked to prescribe every article in court etiquette; he was ever ready to regulate the routine of all his amusements. William IV. inherited George III.'s musical taste; he did something to complete or improve the organisation for musical study which the earlier king had begun. Within a year or two of his coronation, he especially interested himself in a grand musical festival and issued invitations to all those who attended his court to be present. The Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria sat in front near the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The two persons in whom the interest of the spectators chiefly centred were the Duke of Wellington and the future queen. The performance continued during four days. The number of performers, including the chorus, was 625; the profits, £22,000, were divided between the Royal Society of Musicians, the

New Musical Fund, the Royal Academy of Music and the Choral Fund.

The social excitement of the coronation fêtes had not subsided when the political consequences of the ceremonial began to make themselves felt. The cause of reform was making continuous though not unbroken progress; in the peerages conferred at the coronation, the necessity of securing for the bill fresh supporters in the Upper House had not been forgotten. In the autumn of 1831 the political experts thought that the Whig or Radical element among the coronation peers would scarcely prove strong enough to force the measure through, but that in consequence of divisions among the Tory opposition, it might yet be read a second time by the peers. The future connection during the remainder of his reign of William IV. with this measure, to be clearly understood, may make it convenient now briefly to recapitulate what, up to the present date, had happened. The first Reform Bill had, based as it was on the principle of symmetry, disfranchising all boroughs of less than two thousand population, substituting an uniform borough franchise for the existing anomalous, but not unpopular system, making in fact the £10 householders the political masters of the country, been introduced by Lord John Russell in March; it had been read a second time by a single vote; its proposal to reduce the total members of the House from 658 to 596 had produced General Gascoigne's amendment against any such reduction; the king then had dissolved parliament amid popular excitement and joy; so testified the shouting crowds between Westminster and St. James'; so too did the cries of the mob, "Turn out the rogues, your Majesty," so did the breaking of Tory windows,—

such as those of the Duke of Wellington. At the following elections, the cry "for the Bill, the whole Bill, nothing but the Bill," was universal, a hundred anti-reformers failed to secure their election anywhere; many more just squeezed into one of those boroughs, saved by the Gascoigne motion. Directly parliament met, was introduced the second Reform Bill, being, of course, practically identical with the first, save for a few slight alterations; its second reading was carried by 136 in the House of Commons; its third reading, thanks chiefly to Macaulay's able advocacy, by 345 to 236. Comparatively few peers had adopted the Duke of Wellington's formula, or agreed with him and with Canning before him that the wit of man could devise no improvements in the representative system. Nevertheless the Lords, notwithstanding the eloquence and influence of Lord Grey, of Lord Brougham and the supposed royal support of the measure, refused the second reading by 199 to 158. Matters now began to be serious. Peers, on leaving their house or their club, were mobbed and hooted in the streets. The Bishops, who had shown themselves more bitter than the temporal Lords against the bill, were greeted with foul and ferocious abuse; the Bristol reform riots, beginning with the appearance in the town of the Recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, a conspicuous anti-reformer, involved the destruction of the Bishop's palace on College Green at the same time as that of the Mansion House. At Birmingham, which the bill was to have enfranchised, the bells were muffled and tolled; at Nottingham the castle belonging to the Duke of Newcastle, a much-hated Tory, was burnt. The Midland capital was also the chief centre of political unions whose alleged object was to defend

the king and his ministers against the borough-mongers; so, too, it will be remembered, in the days of Charles I. the military disturbances which preceded the outbreak of the war were declared to aim at the sovereign's deliverance from unconstitutional counsellors. These unions soon spread throughout the country; a march by them upon London was talked of; the Duke of Wellington for the second time began to draw up plans for the defence of the capital. Once more the measure, now the third bill, passed through the Commons by a vote of two to one, was sent up to the Lords. The effect of the sovereign's toleration of the proposed legislation had, by this time, shown itself among the peers. Those who were not for the bill were not in all cases absolutely against it. The Duke of Wellington still remained its resolute enemy; every day his followers were dwindling, while those peers who were in favour of a second reading and of amendments in committee were organising themselves more powerfully under Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe, popularly known as the "Trimmers." This section was supposed to have the king's confidence. The Whig or Radical declaration, that William IV. was determined to promote the early passing of the measure, proved, however, premature; the king indeed had declared himself prepared to create enough peers to secure the second reading. He was now alarmed at the democratic and revolutionary consequences, which his courtiers preferred to anticipate; he refused for the present to sign any fresh peers' patents. Lord Grey therefore resigned. The king at once sent for the Duke of Wellington. The entire kingdom was in an uproar. The walls of London and of all towns with banks in them were placarded

with the words in blood-red characters, "Go for gold and stop the duke." The eldest son of Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Milton, did what an individual could to stop supplies by demurring to pay the tax-collector. A general move on London was now visibly imminent; it would certainly have been made if a Wellington ministry had been really formed. The duke, however, protested his first duty to be not to his party, which had indeed now almost dwindled to a faction, but to his sovereign. Sir Harry Inglis, the ultra-Tory member for Oxford University, and Sir Robert Peel both declined to help his Grace with his new administration. The duke therefore advised his Majesty to recall Lord Grey. The king first protested that as a gentleman he could not so humiliate himself. The duke bluntly rejoined, "Sir, you are not a gentleman, but King of England." The sovereign then entreated Wellington to withdraw his opposition and to use his influence with others to do the same. Lord Grey became premier once more. No new peerages were wanted. The bill passed smoothly through its remaining stages. In the June of 1832, it was finally accepted by the Lords by 108 to 22, in practically the same shape as that in which it had been originally introduced. Thus had William IV. alternately seen the country brought to the verge of revolution and then himself intervened to avert the catastrophe. With equal wisdom William IV. indignantly refused to signify his private disapproval of the measure by abstaining from opening in person the first Reform Parliament, January 29, 1833. The king's speech on this occasion was of unusual length; it constituted in fact the programme now placed before the legislature, recreated and

reinvigorated by recent contact with the constituencies. Foreign affairs, the Bank of England, the Established Church at home, a Commutation of Tithes in the Irish Church, the necessity of asserting the power and dignity of the law above the insubordination that had broken out on both sides of St. George's Channel,—these were the chief topics in the royal deliverance. The reference to Ireland procured for the whole composition its characterisation by O'Connell as a brutal and bloody address, a declaration of war against Ireland, necessary to be met with the appointment of a Committee of the whole House to consider his Majesty's words. The sequel was calmer than might have been expected. O'Connell's amendment was rejected by 40 to 428, and another motion to somewhat the same effect by something like the same figures. Within a month the address was disposed of. Parliament began the business of a session which was to show that if the personnel of the legislature had undergone no great change, a new political spirit had been breathed into its temper and animated its work. Thus, though in 1807 the slave trade had been abolished, domestic and agricultural slavery still continued in the West Indies. To root out slavery in these quarters was in effect to revolutionise the social and commercial system of our West Indian settlements, but the newly enfranchised middle classes had been educated by Clarkson and his friends to insist upon the demand; by degrees the institution was abolished, the slaveholders receiving £20,000,000 as compensation for their loss. These were not the only signs of a new order of thought and of ideals, fostered to some extent by William IV. The advice at a later date of Robert Lowe, Lord Sher-

brooke, "Let us educate our masters," was anticipated while William IV. yet reigned. Parliament voted £20,000 for the education of the poor, which up to that time, so far as it existed at all, had been carried on in the ancient grammar-schools of towns or in the primitive dames' schools of the villages. Improvements in the administration of relief to paupers, as well as in their housing; the beginnings in the shape of the first three Factory Acts of legislation for the welfare of women and children employed in the great industries of Northern England; these ameliorations of the national lot may not have owed much to the stimulating influences of William IV. as a social reformer. They may, however, each of them be ascribed to the quickening and humanising spirit with which began to be animated a parliament that first became really representative of the varied orders and interests of English life under William IV. Without that king's earlier bias toward Liberalism, without a court which began by being, to some extent, a rallying centre for Liberal ideas, parliamentary reform and the events following it might indeed have become accomplished facts. That these events happened when they did is in great measure due to William IV.'s Liberalism; nor can the national benefit of that phase of the king's politics be regarded as cancelled or diminished by his later conversion to the Tory ideal of his father, George III., or of his brother and predecessor, George IV. William IV. might also have given a sufficient reason for his later modification in the Conservative direction of the Liberal proclivities correctly imputed to him in his earlier days. It was, as he justly conceived it, the first business of a sovereign not to be a partisan, but to act

between parliamentary parties as an arbiter or mediator; further, in his relations with rival statesmen, the king should be the interpreter of national opinion about the party leaders battling with each other at Westminster. This rôle was consistently filled by William during the whole period of the reform agitation. It was not ignored or abandoned when the sovereign's Conservatism had replaced his former Liberalism. The time had come for the old Whig party to give place to the new Liberalism or to find itself in collision with the newer Radicalism. In other words the Whigs were ceasing to exist; their old family organisation was already a thing of the past. On the other hand, the principles of the new Liberalism were not perfectly understood by the constituencies; the political faith most intelligible to the masses, and also as to its representatives the best organised, was that now generally calling itself conservative; its leaders were in no sense Tories; they were men sprung from the upper section of the middle classes, in close touch with new ideas and interests, like Sir Robert Peel. The effect of the 1832 Reform Act had not been exclusively to liberalise the constituencies. In the boroughs, by dividing reformers into two camps, moderate Liberals and extreme Radicals, it had caused many of the former to approximate closely to Conservatives. In the counties the Chandos Clause of the Reform Act giving a vote to £50 tenants-at-will had enfranchised the farmers; through these, the bill had re-established the political ascendency of the aristocratic county families. The signs of the times pointed therefore to a Conservative reaction. Hence, William IV. might consider himself the national spokesman when, in 1834, he declared he would defend to the last,

against Whig assaults on its revenues, the Irish Church. In 1835, his course was constitutionally more questionable. The resignation of Lord Grey over cabinet differences on Irish policy had been followed by the ministry of Lord Melbourne, in which Lord Althorp, as he had been under Lord Grey, was Chancellor of the Exchequer. There was no conclusive reason for believing the Melbourne ministry to have forfeited the confidence of parliament or the country. William, however, had conceived a strong dislike and distrust of it; he therefore abruptly dismissed it and sent for the Duke of Wellington, who, till Sir Robert Peel's return to England, practically concentrated in himself all the chief offices of state. Such was the most conspicuous exception to the rule of William's constitutional conduct, prompted, as it might be argued, by a conviction of the growing conservatism of his subjects and by a sense of his own royal duty to give that feeling a new chance of effective expression. The king's recall of the dismissed premier was the practical acknowledgment of the mistake he had committed. The incident itself has already taken an historical place as the last collision between the crown and the parliamentary advisers given to it by parliament in the latter evolution of the English monarchy.

The health of William IV. had begun to fail just before the latter difficulties with his Whig ministers. On the 18th June, he reminded his attendants of the event whose anniversary it was, adding, "I should like to see the sun of Waterloo set;" the prayer was granted. The king died before dawn on June 21; the reign of Queen Victoria had begun.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

"An host of persons of all ranks and stations, loitering through the lofty halls of Windsor, chattering, laughing; with nothing of woe about them but the garb; two men in an animated conversation, one laughing heartily at the very foot of the coffin, as it was lying in state, the chamber, in which the body lay, adorned with escutcheons and decked with every sort of funeral finery, as in a stage play. As we passed through it and looked at the scaffolding work beyond, it was just like going behind the scenes of a theatre." Such were those insignia of death, in Bacon's words, more terrible to men than death itself,* dismally displayed when William IV. had drawn his last breath; the sight suggested to the spectator who wrote these words the reflection, "If I were a king, the first thing I would do should be to provide for being committed to the earth with more decency and less pomp." The sepulchral procession through close ranks of Horse and Foot Guards, with torches in their hands, seems to have had an imposing effect. What followed was marred only or chiefly by the miserable reading by the Dean of Windsor of a long service. Meanwhile Queen Adelaide, now the dowager, together with her ladies and some of the Fitz-Clarences,—William's natural

* *Essay on Death:* "Mortis pompa magis terret, quam mors ipsa."

children,—waited in the room that had been the royal closet. All were prepared presently to leave Windsor for Bushey Park. Thence Queen Adelaide and her husband, only as it seemed but yesterday, had been called, for seven years of prosperous and happy splendour. Thither the dowager was now returning, to pass her remaining days in their original obscurity.

With the passing away of these characters disappeared the last memorials of a king who, into his character, and into his public course of seven years, had condensed much that was most distinctive of his Hanoverian predecessors; some of the family peculiarities he had exaggerated, others he had toned down. The better qualities of the Brunswick dynasty were those chiefly associated with William IV.; no attributes of the house had suffered from its display in the person of the last of the nineteenth century kings given to England by the Electress Sophia,—herself the daughter of Frederick V., Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England and VI. of Scotland. In the royal library at Windsor the visitor is to-day reminded of an incident in this lady's earlier life, which might conceivably have prevented the mention of her name and of her heirs in the Act of Settlement, 1701. Brought up as a girl at the Hague, when the court of her cousin, the future Charles II., was fixed in Holland, she saw much of him during the years that preceded his establishment by Monk and by the Convention on his father's throne. From the then Prince of Wales the Electress received much attention. The royalists even anticipated a marriage that, by uniting the Bruns-

wick and the Stuart Houses, might, with a stronger than hereditary title, have given back to the English throne the son of the royal martyr. Among the gifts of the prince to the electress was an early impression of his father's *Eikon Basilike;* the volume contains a rough portrait of the future king, touched up by the original's hands, seemingly with a view of softening down some disagreeable feature; nearly side by side with this picture is another less imposing likeness of the donor, inscribed in his own handwriting on the back, "For the Princess Sophia."

The practical reply of that lady to her relative's advances was her early departure from the scene of the royal exile's mimic court. She received many other offers of marriage; about 1660, the year of her rejected suitor's accession, she bestowed her hand on Duke Ernest of Brunswick, afterwards Elector of Hanover. A remarkable woman, as well as an exemplary wife, the electress transmitted some of her best traits to her most distant descendants. She was among the earliest to appreciate the influence in the world of thought to be exercised by her friend and correspondent, the philosopher, Descartes; at Herrenhausen, she did something towards reviving a philosophy, if not of the garden, of the porch; in those Hanoverian pleasure-grounds, she frequently received Liebnitz as her guest, pouring out his tea at a spot marked to this day by a summer-house. Shortly after the Act of Settlement had gone through parliament, as Heiress-Apparent to Queen Anne, the Electress Sophia died, leaving her son, a few weeks later, on the death of the last Stuart queen, to become King of England as George I. Of her other children, the only daughter, Sophia Charlotte,

married Frederick I. of Prussia, and so became mother of Frederick the Great; she had also much to do with moulding the character of Princess Caroline of Anspach, the future wife of George II., whose recognition of intellect, especially among English Churchmen, constituted, as has been already seen, one of the brightest features in the social aspects of her husband's reign. Some of the personal attributes of earlier queens reappeared in Victoria; in one respect her late Majesty presented a happy contrast to those of her sex who reigned before her. The appearance of other queens regnant has preceded a break in the direct line of the succession. Thus, Mary, Henry VIII.'s elder daughter, who married Philip of Spain, died childless. Her half-sister, Elizabeth, died unmarried. The marriage with James IV. of Scotland, of Henry VII.'s daughter, brought in the House of Stuart, which, although that queen did not die childless, ended with Anne. Margaret Tudor, during the troublous times after her husband's death at Flodden, as guardian of her son, James V., showed some of those great qualities which were to reappear in Queen Victoria. Mary Stuart, never a regnant queen, was mother of an actual king, James I.; the wife of that sovereign, daughter of Frederick II. of Denmark, whose mother was a Mecklenburg princess, conspicuously transmitted to Queen Victoria and her descendants some of the features of mind and body to-day regarded as most characteristic of our royal family. To that consort of the first Stuart king may be traced back the bright intelligence, the constitutional vivacity, the well-chiselled features, the brilliant complexion associated to-day with the ladies of the English Royal House. The queen of James

I., too, continued the precedent of literary encouragement first set by Elizabeth, notably in her patronage of Ben Jonson; while all writers of history and all unwritten traditions agree in representing this early Stuart queen as a perfect wife and mother. In one of the rooms at Kensington Palace is a set of drawings by Holbein, of the courtiers of Henry VIII. That is only one from the artistic treasures transmitted to her posterity by the care and taste of George II.'s queen, Caroline of Anspach. As the culture, which in her day Queen Caroline almost uniquely represented, still finds favour with her posterity, so is the very type of her features preserved. With the face and features of Queen Victoria and her children, let there be compared the authentic portraits of the wife of James I., as well as the painting of the wife of George II.; the careful observer will perceive the physiognomy of the Royal House to-day to reproduce in about equal degrees that of these two ancestresses.

Than the queen, whose son, as Edward VII., today reigns, no wearer of the crown ever went through an early training less calculated to perpetuate the idiosyncratic virtues or failings of a royal caste or more likely to develop all that is best, strongest, as well as most feminine in a woman's character. The story of these early years has been often and fully written; it is accessible in the most popular and the cheapest form to every class throughout the empire. A short and rapid survey of the queen's earlier environment and formative influences is all that seems called for here. The third son of George III., the Duke of Kent, had been brought up by his father on a system, in comparison with which the severe training undergone by his brother, the Duke of

Clarence, and described above, might be called indulgent. Sent from home as a child, he was placed in the hands of a tutor at Hanover, who, to his natural austerity, seems to have added a personal feeling against his royal charge. The young duke was stinted by his father, in the matter of pocket money; the reply from home to his appeals for an increased allowance was the reference of the whole matter to his tutor, who informed the king that his son's money needs were the results only of systematic extravagance, and who advised the peremptory refusal of the present petition. Such were the early experiences of the Duke of Kent; these, when the Princess Victoria became the Heiress-Apparent to the crown, explained the pathetic expressions of relief by the father that his daughter at least was now happily placed beyond the vexations that had embittered his own youth. Yet in conversation with or about the Princess Victoria, the Duke of Kent ever spoke of his first prayer for his daughter as being not a brilliant career, free from all his own troubles and struggles, but the Divine blessing to overshadow, to guard and to guide her. The strong constitution and the regular life of the Duke of Kent had long convinced him that he would outlive all his brothers. When, however, his death came, it was sudden; it had been hastened by an act of carelessness, into which parental fondness had betrayed him. An affection of the chest or lungs, not, it was thought, likely to prove fatal, had sent the Duke of Kent on medical advice, with his wife and daughter, to winter in the soft climate of Sidmouth, South Devon. Here he returned one day home from a walk, with clothes wetted by rain; without changing them, he went into his daughter's nursery; he took a chill,

and within a few days died of pneumonia. That the Duke and Duchess of Kent's child might be English born, her parents had returned from Amorbach Castle in Bavaria, so that in fact the child might first see the light of day at Kensington Palace. Here, where afterwards she was first to be called by the royal title (in a gold font, long unused, specially fetched from the Tower of London, where with the regalia it was stored), the future queen was baptised. The Duchess of Kent, anticipating the crown for her daughter, had chosen the name of Elizabeth. The names which subsequently suggested themselves were Alexandrina, after the Czar, who, represented by the Duke of York at the christening, was one of the godfathers, and Georgiana, after her grandfather. Objections to this baptismal style were taken by her sponsor, the Prince of Wales, who advised the perpetuation of the name of the Duchess of Kent, Victoria. From Sidmouth the Princess Victoria, immediately after the loss of her father, returned with the Duchess of Kent to Kensington Palace. More than a generation has now passed since in 1861 the Duchess of Kent died. The way in which this lady performed not only a parental, but a national duty, is familiar history; from the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Victoria learned a lesson, which she, in turn, taught her descendants;—to desire and to deserve to be remembered not only as the queen, but as the mother of her people. Before she passed into the hands of governesses and tutors, her mother's example as well as teaching had impressed on her mind principles of conduct, which, throughout her long life, Victoria never ceased to remember and to illustrate. It was a childhood on whose usually placid, rather than bright surface, fell

some of those shadows which may now be thought to have presaged the experiences of later life. The Duke of Kent, it has been seen, died in 1820. The Princess Victoria's next acquaintance with sorrow was, in 1827, the death of her uncle, the Duke of York, his father's favourite and undoubtedly the most attractive among the sons of George III. The young princess, his niece, had been the most constant attendant in the sick-room during the duke's last illness; daily arranged with her own hands the flowers placed by the invalid's bed. She had also about the same time, in his last illness, attended to the needs of a veteran private soldier named Hillman, who had served under her father at Gibraltar, first when the Duke of Kent was acting as colonel of his regiment and afterwards when he had been appointed governor.

Of the many glimpses of the childhood of the future queen contained in the memoirs of the period, none is prettier than that afforded by the diary of William Wilberforce, who mentions, July 21, 1820, a visit to the Duchess of Kent with her fine, animated child playing on the floor and made by her large blue eyes, fair complexion, glossy golden hair, quite a "baby beauty." Sir Walter Scott has recorded a like impression, adding that so little was the princess left by her mother to servants, as to give no busy maid a moment to say, "You are heir of England." When a little later the child's education began, the teachers were chosen by the duchess with the same care that at a future day was to be shown by the princess when queen of England, in selecting persons to have charge over her own children. The first governess of the princess was the daughter of a Lutheran clergyman, the Baroness Lehzen; this lady

was helped by Dr. Davys, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, as the princess' first tutor. King William IV., though not on friendly terms with the duchess, always showed the greatest interest in the mental development of her daughter. Like King Leopold of Belgium, he insisted on the princess receiving that kind of education which would strengthen all her faculties, train her character, rather than crowd the memory with facts, figures and dates. Accomplishments were not neglected. The princess soon showed herself possessed of a good ear and of a soprano voice, noticeable for its flexibility and compass; her musical training, vocal or instrumental, was carried on by Bernard Sale and by the famous singer La Blache; Westhall, the Royal Academician, was her drawing master; while by the learned and devoted Dr. Davys she was thoroughly grounded in every branch of general knowledge, as well as in the elements of Latin and Greek. Especial attention was given by Dr. Davys to the early history of England, which the princess was taught to study from the original black-letter authorities. In all that concerned court demeanor and ceremonial, the princess was prepared by the Duchess of Northumberland.

A chance look at the royal genealogical tree is said to have revealed to the princess her nearness to the crown, and to have elicited from her, to her attendant, the comment, "Many a child would boast, but they do not know the difficulty, much splendour, yet far more responsibility; while who knows, if aunt Adelaide may not have more children." Mention has already been made of the concert in Westminster Abbey, at which the Princess Victoria was present, during the early years of William IV. The

formal "coming out" of the future queen took place February 24, 1831, at a court held by Queen Adelaide, on whose left hand stood the Princess Victoria, wearing the plain white dress and pearl necklace, celebrated on so many canvases. Four years later, in a rose-coloured satin dress and a large pink bonnet that also reappeared in many paintings, the princess appeared with her uncle William IV. and Queen Adelaide, not only in Westminster Abbey, but upon Ascot racecourse. During the August of 1835, in the Chapel Royal, St. James', took place her confirmation by the primate, whose address on the princess' future responsibilities seems to have impressed all who heard it, by its freshness and its force rather than by the merely conventional excellencies which such an occasion might have produced. Other functions soon followed, while William IV. yet lived; a state service of school children at St. Paul's; a ball at St. James' Palace, on the 18th anniversary of her birth, thus making the attainment of the princess' legal majority. A court festivity of a different kind was the dinner given on August 21, 1836, by King William in celebration of his birthday. The guests numbered a hundred; the Duchess of Kent was seated on one side of the king, the Princess Victoria opposite. William IV. seldom allowed a possible occasion of delivering a speech to pass by without actually making one; he rarely received the homage of a bishop and failed to charge him in the most solemn words against ever being betrayed into supporting the Whigs; at the birthday dinner now mentioned, the speech-making sovereign outdid himself;—after expressing his satisfaction at the prospect of a regency being unnecessary on his death, the king, who a few days before had

complimented his niece on the eloquent and spirited diction of a letter written by her to himself, mentioned his satisfaction in the prospect of leaving his authority in the hands of that young lady opposite, not in those of a person near him, surrounded by ill-advisers; his references to the princess now were as markedly complimentary as those to the Duchess of Kent were the reverse; the king's wishes to see more at court of his heiress were not therefore likely very strictly to be complied with.

The narrowness of the circumstances in which, on the Duke of Kent's death, his widow and daughter found themselves, has been exaggerated; the precise facts are as follows. The Duchess of Kent's parliamentary jointure of £6,000 was supplemented, in 1825, by another vote of the same amount to the princess. Out of the annual £25,000 settled on him by parliament, when he married the Princess Charlotte, Leopold of Belgium had long made an allowance of £3,000 a year to the duchess and her daughter. Residence at Kensington Palace was varied by long sojourns of the duchess and her daughter at Norris Castle in the Isle of Wight. It was while staying here, during the early thirties, that the princess opened the new harbour works at Southampton, christening a portion of them the Royal Pier. The same year which saw the passing of the Grey Reform Act witnessed the first of several English tours and visits to historic country-houses made by the princess with her mother. Chester, Matlock, Chesterfield, Chatsworth, Alton Towers, Oxford, were all of them seen in this way, about this period. In the Sheldonian Theatre (Nov., 1832) was presented by the University to the princess an address that attracted some notice at the time for

the verbal tact with which implied congratulations on her royal future were combined with the absence of definite mention of the prospect now clearly open. These too were the years in which the politic counsels of her uncle Leopold, as to the duties of a constitutional sovereign, were preparing Victoria's mind for the later lessons to be learnt from Lord Melbourne. In the capacity of future queen, the Princess Victoria ceremonially appeared for the first time at the court ball given May 24, 1837, her eighteenth birthday, when in the eye of the constitution she became of age. Then it was that her uncle, William IV., made his niece a present of a pianoforte costing 200 guineas, further offering her £10,000 to defray the cost of setting up an establishment of her own, independently of her mother, if only she would choose her household from persons approved by him. On this birthday and thereafter, the princess now first took precedence of her mother. In the absence of the king, when receiving an address from the city council, she occupied the central chair of state. That also seems to have been the final occasion of the Duchess of Kent associating her name publicly with the future sovereign; for into the court reply to the address just named, the duchess contrived to interpolate a few words of her own to the effect that as she herself had always shunned any connection with either party in the state, so she had never failed to impress on her daughter the duty of co-ordinating the prerogative of the crown with the protection of the people.

The period, whose anticipations had regulated all the movements of the Princess Victoria during William's reign, was now to begin, as at the last it seemed almost suddenly. The king died, between two

and three hours after midnight, in the early morning of June 20, 1837. By 4.30 A.M. the primate and the chief court official, Lord Conyngham, were on their way to Kensington Palace. Accounts of what followed their arrival at Kensington differ in some unimportant details. All the chief incidents are established beyond doubt by several eye-witnesses of the scenes. The queen, entering by herself the rooms in which her visitors were, was addressed by Lord Conyngham as "your Majesty"; the new sovereign, in acknowledgment, put out her hand to intimate he was to kiss hands before he proceeded; this is what, dropping on one knee, Lord Conyngham did, and then conveyed his message of her uncle's death. The same ceremony was then repeated by the archbishop, who delivered also a little pastoral charge, received graciously by the new sovereign, who then retired. Either then or very shortly afterwards the same morning, Queen Victoria wrote a letter of condolence to the widow Adelaide, being careful to omit in the address, after the sovereign title, the qualifying word, dowager. Shortly after this, and some time before noon, the queen presided over the first meeting of her Privy Council. In addition to the Royal Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex were present among the Privy Councillors their Graces of Argyle and Wellington, Lord Aberdeen, Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Salisbury. This was the time chosen for the young queen's delivery of her declaration to maintain the form of Protestant religion established by law, to secure full religious liberty to all persons, and generally to promote the happiness and welfare of her subjects. A contemporary historian of strong republican sympathies, the original of the

she-radical, whom Mr. Rigby (J. W. Croker) was so good at flaying, Miss Harriet Martineau, took extreme pains to ascertain the deportment of the new sovereign. Even this lady candidly confessed that of all the young queen's people, could they have known what actually passed, there were none but would have been pleased and proud of the way in which was given her first address, of the composed, modest, dignified manner of the voice, firm and sweet, and of the faultlessly beautiful elocution. Of the experienced members of the council, all have placed on record spontaneous testimonies to the serenity, grace and aplomb shown by the sovereign; admiring every feature of her bearing and conduct, Sir Robert Peel, himself a model of propriety and a severe critic, was especially amazed at her reception of the foreign ambassadors; the Duke of Wellington felt as proud of her as of his daughter. Lord Campbell saw her modest, dejected, diffident, but cool, collected and firm. Yet even after this state ordeal, the playfulness of the girl and the meditative gentleness of the woman showed itself. Through a glass door opening into the gallery leading into the private apartments, the bishops saw their young sovereign bounding off from the ceremony at which she had just presided. The Duchess of Kent was expecting some maternal talk with her daughter, when the words were murmured in the mother's ear, "I wish, my dear mamma, to be left for two hours alone." A new proof of the young queen's filial affection was given by her payment of her father's debts soon after her accession, as well as by the bestowal on her old tutor, her father's choice, Dr. Davys, of the Peterborough Bishopric, and the nomination of his daughter as maid of honour. But

from the first the queen decisively let it be known that officially she would take counsel of none of those united to her by the closest ties of kinship, and that her only advisers would be her parliamentary ministers. Thus, within a few hours of the beginning of her reign, she told her mother's secretary, Sir John Conroy, the court could offer him no employment, but that she wished to remunerate, so far as might be on his own terms, his services to her parents. Of the peerage, the red riband of St. Patrick, and the pension of £3,000 a year, mentioned by Conroy, the queen replied that all the items, except the pension, rested with her ministers, for whom she could not engage, but that the money acknowledgment, being in her own gift, should certainly be made. Eventually the peerage was refused and a baronetcy given in its place. That Conroy had no personal claim on the queen is certain. Of her earlier *entourage,* the only person at all endeared to her was her governess, the already mentioned Baroness Lehzen. Kensington Palace, when the princess lived there, was not without its court intrigues; as a result of one of these, Madame Lehzen's intimate friend, a Madame Spoth, lost her place as lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Kent, greatly to the Princess Victoria's regret. It is perhaps to such vexations and crossings of her girlish will that, in a letter to her uncle, King Leopold, published with her Majesty's sanction, the queen implicitly refers, when she speaks of "my sad childhood." By the Baroness Lehzen, long after the term of governorships had expired, the queen was loyally and affectionately served and daily attended. When any of the ministers came for an audience, the baroness left at one door as the minister entered by

the other; the visit over, the baroness returned to the queen. After six days of regnancy, the queen, by universal testimony, was as perfectly mistress of her duties as had she been on the throne as many years. With experience came, of course, the ease that produced an access of queenly grace. Most of those who were then about her have recorded different exhibitions of her self-possession and deliberation. All were agreed that the smallness of her stature was quite forgotten in the majesty and grace of her demeanour. Lord Melbourne, her prime minister, even in that age of worldly polish, when *savoir-faire* and knowledge of the world were studied as fine arts, had long been famous at court, in society as well as in politics. A manner of elegant indolence won for him the reputation of a mere trifler; that reputation was fortunately disposed of by the earnest single-heartedness with which he devoted himself to the young sovereign. A dexterous party manager when he took the trouble, Lord Melbourne was, in private life, an agreeable companion and most finished conversationalist, with much unconventional knowledge and a happy turn for genial epigram, which presented his insight into life and character, in phrases quickened and that pleased intelligent listeners. Without any apparent effort to do so, Melbourne invited the confidence of all, especially of his youngers. Thus, after his attack upon the premier in the Runnymede letters, Benjamin Disraeli asked the veteran statesman's advice on his own career, whispering to him the since often-quoted words, "I want to become prime minister." Without any of the restlessness sometimes mistaken for energy, this statesman was also absolutely without prejudices of any sort. No public man of his

day, upon every subject, social, political or religious, ever preserved so successfully an open mind. Yet he did not lack deep convictions. He had long reached the conclusion that, for a constitutional sovereign, the secret of success was the faculty of observing the parliamentary and popular opinion then in action, of harmonising or striking the balance between the two. Yet, even in the case of so safe and wise an adviser as well as of a political teacher, so true to the principles already laid down by Leopold the Belgian, the young queen did not surrender her private judgment. From her habitual refusal immediately to answer any applications made to her, it was sometimes inferred that she wished to consult Lord Melbourne first. Yet this was only the way of dealing with the minister himself. Whenever Melbourne talked to her about a subject on which her opinion was expected, she told him she would think it over and let him have her sentiments the next day. No little trait in his young sovereign's character was missed by this statesman, who, as an instance of her feminine tact, has described that when the queen was going to visit the dowager at Windsor, she expressly desired her minister to order beforehand that the flag half-mast high on the Round Tower should not be elevated. So early and so minute was the young sovereign's knowledge of forms as well as her attention to trifles and her consideration for the feelings of others. It was a touching meeting between the two queens. Pressed to name any wish to her niece, the dowager asked that a retiring pension might be given to William IV.'s personal attendants, who had also waited on George IV., men named Whiting and Bachelor. The answer was that it should be attended to, and no distinct

promise could be given. The one private subject that, during these early days, chiefly engaged the queen, was the clearing off of her father's liabilities. Hence she demurred to Queen Adelaide's proposal to take into her service the dowager's band; for, as she had on her accession told Lord Melbourne, no avoidable expense should be incurred till the Duke of Kent's debts had been entirely discharged.

Politically, the beginning of the queen's reign formed no new epoch in English history. During and after the general elections following William's death, fresh forces indeed asserted themselves. In the last parliament of William IV. Radicalism had pretty clearly asserted itself as the agency inspiring and controlling the Whigs, but the subjects then chiefly under parliamentary discussion were not favourable for the immediate development of the extreme Liberal propaganda. Between 1833 and the end of 1836, the reduction of the criminal law into one digest, as recommended by the royal commission of 1833, and as long advocated by Sir Samuel Romilly and other humane and wise reformers, was being considered in both Houses. The first specific instalment of criminal law amelioration had been the concession of counsel to prisoners. By a second bill, three years later, capital punishment was limited to comparatively a few crimes. During the 160 years between the accession of Charles II. (1660) and the death of George IV. (1820), nearly 200 crimes were exposed to the extreme penalty of the law. Of the vindictive savagery legalized by the Criminal Code during that period, a sufficient idea may be formed by the facts and figures already given on page 123. Samuel Romilly, belonging to a family of Huguenot descent, the

son of a watchmaker settled in the Gray's Inn Road, born in 1757, entered Gray's Inn at the age of 21; his Chancery practice soon became considerable; he also wrote for the press. About the end of the eighteenth century, he wrote a pamphlet on the French Revolution of such ability that to it, rather than to his legal distinction, he is said to have owed first his return to parliament, and secondly, in 1806, the Solicitor-Generalship. An early promoter of the Anti-Slavery agitation, he had always keenly opposed the repressive legislation of the Tories after William Pitt's resignation or death, under Castlereagh and Sidmouth, especially the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1817 and the organised espionage which followed it. From the first his movement against the excessive award of the death penalty was favoured by the House of Commons; session after session, his bill rejected by the Lords, he himself lived to see the assurance, but not the fact, of the full success of the merciful improvements with which he had bravely persevered. For, in 1818, heartbroken by domestic affliction, he ended his life. The commencement of the new reign roughly coincided with the adoption of Romilly's reforms. Before the coronation of Queen Victoria, the only offences dooming men to the gallows were murder, attempt to murder, rape, arson, piracy, burglary and robbery when attended by circumstances endangering life. Measures giving effect to these mitigations of the law severity were inscribed on the statute book during the session which preceded the first general appeal to the constituencies under the new queen.

Both parties had exhausted their ingenuity in attempts to go to the country with "a good cry." "Our young queen and our old constitution" timidly sug-

gests Mr. Taper or Mr. Tadpole to the critical Rigby of *Coningsby*. When Lord Monmouth's man shakes his head, Tadpole flatly protests, but our ancient institution and our modern queen sounds a little odd. As a fact, the Whigs relied for success in the constituencies on the favour of the crown. The Tories, on the other hand, claimed the nation's support, in their efforts to free the sovereign from her subjection to the Whigs. The elections had been preceded by incidents tending to withdraw from ministers the Radical support for which some of the Whig ministers had been bidding. Lord John Russell had offended the extreme Liberal section by declaring that the Reform Act of 1832 must be regarded as a final settlement of the franchise question. Lords Brougham and Durham were indeed identified with far more democratic sympathies; but the elections had not gone far when their general result was foreseen to be likely, numerically, to weaken and morally to damage the ministerialists throughout the country. The prospects, however, seemed to change almost from day to day; the ultra-reformers were still far from forgiving Lord John Russell his "fidelity speech." Between the government itself and their Radical supporters went forward negotiations; were given promises of future legislation which had the effect of causing the democratic section to reconsider its attitude towards Lord Melbourne and his colleagues. The election occupied the summer and the early autumn of 1837. When, in November, the new parliament met, it was found that the Tory losses had been less; the Whig gains rather, and the Radical gains very much, smaller, than was at first anticipated. In the queen's first parliament the estimated strength of

the reputed supporters of the Whig government, now called Liberals, was 348; its reputed opponents, now called Conservatives, and recognising their chief in Sir Robert Peel, numbered 310.

The only business done after the Houses had assembled for an autumn session was the settlement of the queen's civil list. After some general debate, the matter was referred to a select committee. Ultimately the royal income was fixed at £470,000, about the same as that allowed to William IV. Then followed an adjournment over the coming Christmas, till, in fact, February, 1838. Meanwhile the young queen remained at Windsor, where she received as her guests her uncle, King Leopold, and some other of her German relatives or friends; a little later, while the Houses were still in recess, the queen paid her first visit to the city, where she was received with great pomp by the mayor and aldermen, seated on mettlesome chargers, of which their riders had the control so imperfect as to cause some curious, but not serious, equestrian incidents. On this occasion, too, the Christ's Hospital boys presented an address. These smaller incidents, following together at short intervals, diversified the more serious business of the queen's first year on the throne.

The ceremonial series ended in the historic pageant of May 28, 1838, when the coronation fever, to use the expression then current, came to a crisis and the sovereign was formally installed in her throne. The crowns worn by George III. and William IV. weighed seven pounds; they were, therefore, considered too heavy for the wear of the queen; the historic jewels were rearranged in another coronet. From Hyde Park Corner to Westminster Abbey, before every house, was a scaffolding

crowded with spectators. Lines of flags and many coloured decorations stretched in every direction as far as the eye could see. The queen had already begun to reform court usages, by insisting upon punctuality to the moment. She set an example of this virtue on the eventful day, by reaching the Abbey at 11 o'clock to the moment. Some of those present in the national minster on the first of recent modern Jubilees, that of 1887, could recall the appearance presented by the church half a century earlier; they could compare the arrangements on the later occasion with the fittings and decorations on the earlier; —the specially erected galleries, covered with crimson and gold cloth throughout the whole length of the building. Close to the altar in 1838 stood the golden chair of homage; near it, the coronation chair used uninterruptedly since Edward the Confessor; while just beside it was the Scotch coronation stone of Scone. By men grown old in the service of the state, not easily moved to enthusiasm, or to poetic reflection and simile, the peeresses' diamonds were described as blazing with a lustre that literally dazzled, and that made the ladies themselves shine out like rainbows.

At 11.30, the great guns announced the arrival of the queen, who entered the building surrounded by her chief peers and state officers, among them, of course, Lord Melbourne and the Duke of Wellington, while in the attendant crowd of foreign ambassadors, the diamond-decorated clothes of Prince Esterhazy seemed for a moment to outshine the flashing tiaras of the English ladies. Some rites in the historic ceremonial might, it had been decided, be omitted. Thus, the sovereign's champion with his gauntlet thrown down, as a challenge to all ob-

jectors to the new monarch, was an usage honoured on this occasion in the breach, rather than in the observance; nor was it thought necessary for all the peers to do homage by kissing the left cheek, as well as by touching the crown. At the moment of entering the Cathedral, the Bishop of Bath and Wells and the Bishop of Durham were walking on either side of her. The primate then approached the sovereign, formally recognised her by presenting her to "All you people come to do homage." The coronation oath, administered by the primate, pledged the sovereign in words nearly the same as those already addressed by her to her Privy Council and parliament, "to maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Protestant Reformed religion, established by law, to maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the United Church of England and Ireland; the doctrine, worship, discipline and government thereof, as by law established." To the question asked by the archbishop, "Whether she would do all these things," before the actual administering of the oath, she had firmly assented; then, passing to the altar, she took the oath itself, seated in King Edward's chair, while four knights of the Garter, the Dukes of Buccleuch, Lords Anglesey and Exeter, held over their sovereign's head a cloth of gold. Then, using a gold spoon, the primate anointed the head and hands with oil in the form of a cross; the formula employed was: "Kings and prophets were anointed, as Solomon by Zadoc the Priest and by Nathan the Prophet; so be thou anointed with holy oil, blessed and consecrated queen over this people, which the Lord hath given you to rule and govern." Next came the presentation of St. George's spurs to the queen and her replacing

of them in the hands which presented them. The same form was gone through with the sword of state, carried by Lord Melbourne as prime minister. Meanwhile the primate was enjoining the queen "to do justice, to stop the growth of iniquity, to protect the Holy Church, to help and defend widows and orphans." The peers now advanced to take the oath of allegiance in the following form: "I do become your liegeman of life and limb, of earthly worship and truth, to live and die against all manner of folks." Among the many and often told smaller incidents of the coronation were the tendering by the Duke of Norfolk of the traditional glove representing the ancient terms of his tenure of Worksop Manor; the pretty and gracious recognition by the queen of her aged uncle, the Duke of Sussex, as he was advancing to do homage; the little mishap, as he was coming forward to the throne, of the infirm Lord Rolle, who stumbled, and was relieved from the risk of a second accident by the queen stepping up to him. With the crowd of state personages in the Abbey, were mingled one or two others. Miss Jameson, the art critic, stood near Thomas Carlyle, whose *French Revolution,* appearing in 1837, had just made his reputation and whose *Heroes and Hero-Worship* was to be published later in the coronation year. Miss Jameson has given a touching account of the effect produced by the ceremonial on the great Scotch teacher, and of his audible prayer, expressive of his feelings, "God's blessing on her." Among the foreigners, greater attention than by Esterhazy and his brilliance was excited by the entry into the Abbey of the French general, Marshal Soult, whom France had sent as special ambassador for the occasion. When the vet-

eran warrior walking erect and alone passed through the nave and into the choir, he was preceded by a murmur of respect and curiosity, which more impressively than the heralds and pursuivants themselves announced the presence of a man greater than any other representative of the sovereigns of Europe. Some of the effects in the pageant had been imperfectly rehearsed or prepared. The central position was overcrowded; the interval between the queen and the peers preceding her seemed insufficient. Excepting the Bishop of London, Dr. Blomfield, whose sermon was justly admired, and the primate, both of whom had thoroughly studied their parts beforehand, the leading managers of the occasion seemed ill-at-home in the procedure; this was admitted to be the case by Lord John Thynne, who officiated for the Dean of Westminster. That cleric and courtier saw with alarm that the queen had been made to leave her chair and to enter St. Edward's Chapel before the prayers were ended. "Pray tell me," asked the queen of Lord John, "what I am to do, for nobody seems to know." Again at the close of the proceedings occurred a mishap with the orb and the ring; the former proved too heavy for the queen easily to carry; the latter, having been made wrongly for the little finger, could only be squeezed on the proper finger, the fourth, by the archbishop with an effort that hurt the wearer, and when the ceremony was over, obliged her to bathe her finger in water to get it off. Finally the distribution of the medals celebrating the event produced a noise and a disturbance beneath the dignity of the day. It was in fact a scramble in which maids-of-honour vied with lords-in-waiting in their zeal to become possessed of the coveted mementoes. Still the general result of the day was

highly successful. The pervading features of the celebration were of happy as well as of true omen for the reign that had begun. Prince Strogonoff, no friend of the English, declared nothing of the sort could be seen in any other country. The strollers of all nationalities through the parks, where during the afternoon a sort of fair was held, confessed the great merit of the coronation to have been, that so much had been done for the people, that to amuse and interest them seemed to have been the principal object. A happy and faithful prognostic this, of the most popular reign which was to follow.

The coronation and the court ceremonies, which, during many weeks, followed it, did not much interrupt the routine of the queen's life. Every forenoon came the interview between 11 and 12 with Lord Melbourne. Then the queen's and her prime minister's horses were brought round for a ride, usually at a gallop before luncheon. The premier, daily receiving fresh proof of the sovereign's equality for all state affairs, now predicted that at no distant date the queen's personal influence would not fail to make itself felt on state affairs. Of others forming a society, whose natural centre was the throne, during these years, may be mentioned, next to the Duke of Wellington, the most conspicuous were Lord Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, with the eagle nose, the piercing eye, as well as those greater qualities whether in society or debate which won for him Bulwer's famous description:—

> "The brilliant chief, irregularly great,
> Frank, haughty, rash, the Rupert of debate."

Benjamin Disraeli, though a member of the queen's first parliament and soon to be much talked about,

was as yet only known as the gifted son of a learned father, who seemed chiefly to court notoriety by inartistic eccentricities of costume. Lord John Russell, small of person, languid of manner, but in moments of political passion seeming to expand into a dignity and even stature that none failed to notice,* was contrasted with his friend and rival, the tall, dark-haired, handsome Palmerston, known by his sobriquet of Cupid. Edward Lytton Bulwer had achieved fame as the author of *Pelham;* he had still to be known as a serious politician. The brilliant Edinburgh Reviewer, T. B. Macaulay, had just come back from India to his chambers in the Albany, to a place in the House of Commons, but had yet to crown his literary and parliamentary fame by the History of England. The two foremost champions of Irish Nationalism, who, as their later successors have done, made their power felt by proving themselves indispensable allies to English Liberalism, were the eloquent giant, Daniel O'Connell, and his physical opposite, but political colleague, of diminutive presence, deeply-set gleaming eyes and brilliantly antithetical speech, Richard Lalor Sheil. Amid the engagements of this busy period, the queen contrived to give Sir David Wilkie frequent sittings for his famous picture, "Victoria at her First Council." That painting had, it may be said, been severely criticised by John Wilson Croker, the original of Rigby in *Coningsby,* because at, it seemed, that functionary's request the artist had represented the Lord Mayor of London as present at the ceremony. Hence future mayors might, it was said, draw a

* "But see our statesman when steam is on,
And languid John glows to glorious John."
St. Stephen's.

precedent establishing their right personally to assist at like occasions in the future.

The second session of the queen's first parliament, opened in the November of 1837, began somewhat earlier than the precise day in the February of 1838, to which from the preceding autumn it had been prorogued. The imperial events that made the session open on the 16th January, serious in themselves, significantly foreshadowed the events of universal importance which specially distinguished Queen Victoria's reign, marked as that period is by the growth of the greatest colonial Empire which history records. The foundations of England's modern supremacy as a colonial power were laid by Chatham during the reign of George III. The superstructure constituting a Britain beyond seas many times greater than Great Britain itself was the growth of the Victorian age; the same era witnessed the complete vindication of the old country to the historic title of "mother of parliaments." Appropriately enough, therefore, was it a colonial question that hastened the opening of the queen's second session. Long-standing difficulties in Lower and Upper Canada had grown into rebellion. Canada originally comprised the American territory, ceded by France to England in 1763. After the United States had secured their independence, it was limited to the region now covered by the provinces of Ontario and Quebec; these till 1867 were known as Upper and Lower Canada respectively. By the Quebec Act of 1774, at the instance of the French inhabitants, the custom of Paris, in other words, the old Canadian law, was re-established in all civil cases, and the free exercise of the Catholic religion was guaranteed. But to conciliate the earlier French settlers was not necessarily to se-

cure peaceful relations between the two national stocks established in the country. The English colonists had now become the life and soul of Canadian progress. The French settlers, among many good qualities, did not often possess a great passion for enterprise. Above all the English settlers, accustomed to self-government at home, with the results fresh before them of the great war for Independence in America, demanded political independence for themselves. Pitt's Quebec government bill, introduced in 1791, did not provide any permanent settlement. It aimed at separating the English from the French colonists by the establishment of two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. There was obvious justice in Fox's criticism of these proposals, that they ignored the one thing most desirable, namely, the fusion into a common Canadian nationality of the French and English inhabitants. The bill as a fact realised the apprehensions expressed by the opposition; the antagonism between the two races was accentuated. A further mistake was made by Pitt, in supposing the constitutional and aristocratic polity of an old country like England to be applicable to a new and necessarily democratic community such as Canada; the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly, which were respectively to represent the House of Lords and the House of Commons, became caricatures of the original institutions whose benefits they were intended to reproduce. The members of the Canadian popular chamber were not drawn from the same class as those sent by the English constituencies to St. Stephen's, they did not enter political life with the same motives; they aimed at creating, rather than representing, the opinions of their constituents. On the other hand, the Legislative Coun-

cil or House of Lords consisted chiefly of English placemen, having no interest in common with those of their French fellow-subjects; nor was that all. Parliamentary institutions owe their exceptional success in England to conditions, not forthcoming in the same degree elsewhere; such have been a popular peerage and a House of Commons, based on the territorial principles. The House of Commons after its separation from the Lords, under Edward III., was rendered a power in the realm by the shire knights. As yet the borough members were of small account. The county members or knights identified with the territorial principle the chamber in which they sat. Such an identification has been wanting wherever else a third estate has been organised for deliberate or legislative purposes. The estate itself has gradually dwindled to a political nonentity. In Canada, especially in the Lower Province, as indeed in any new country, the class which formed the backbone of the English representative body could not exist. The House of Assembly attracted only professional politicians of much the same type as that in our day are known to France, but not yet acclimatised in England. The absence of primogeniture, together with the equal division of property among families, by rendering large landowners impossible, operated as a bar to the formation of an aristocracy of acres. Time had not yet been allowed for the existence of an aristocracy of wealth. Any indication of such an interest thereafter asserting itself was exclusively English. During the half-century which had almost elapsed since Pitt's well-meant but ill-considered measure, the original evils had been in process of aggravation rather than healing.

Between the authority of the Canadian governor, as representative of the English crown, and the beneficent influence exercised by the crown in England, the analogy was one of words only. The governor's ministry or executive council could not possibly be the counterpart of an English administration, whose essence is its responsibility to parliament; because the first object of the Canadian governor and his council necessarily was the maintenance of English ascendency. It is enough here to say that, at the beginning of the queen's reign, the Canadian people, as the only remedy for their grievances, demanded the complete control of appropriating the taxes, some of which, without consulting the assembly, had been applied to maintaining the public service; the next changes asked for were a legislative council, which instead of a nominated should be an elected body, and responsibility of the executive to the provincial parliament.

The rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada happened at nearly the same time from much the same causes. In the upper province discontent had shown itself as far back as 1828; at the end of that year, Sir John Colborne, afterwards Lord Seaton, became lieutenant-governor; in the following January the new Canadian parliament met; the Speaker, Mr. Marshall Bidwell, avowed republican sentiments. Within two years, took place another general election, which gave the government a majority. The radical agitator, Mackenzie, continued his attacks upon the government with such success, that, though five times expelled from the Canadian parliament, his constituents, on each occasion, re-elected him. Three years before Victoria's accession, the advance of democratic ideas in Upper Canada had been shown by the

growing majority of the opposition, as well as by the election of Mackenzie himself to be the first mayor of Toronto. Petitions, for a large measure of autonomy, now poured in upon the imperial government, which so far yielded to popular pressure, as to nominate Sir Francis Head the new governor; Head had been chosen because he was understood to be specially acceptable to the advanced wing of local liberalism; that recommendation failed to yield the satisfactory results which had been expected. Head indeed filled with radicals and reformers the vacant seats in the executive; he did not displace the sitting members of the opposite party. Both sides equally soon became dissatisfied. Confused and paralysed, the executive body resigned; by March, 1836, the estrangement of both parties from Head was complete; the governor now addressed a stirring appeal to Canadian loyalty; the defeat of the government meant, he urged, an end to the British connection. For the time, the manifesto seemed successful; in the elections which now followed, many of the radical leaders, including Bidwell and Mackenzie, were rejected; the promoters of disaffection roused themselves to fresh efforts; they sent to England an influential representative, Dr. Duncombe, to complain of the corruption, by which had been secured their electoral defeat. With the idea of relieving the home government, Head sent in his resignation; it was not accepted. Directed by Mackenzie, the agitators continued to embitter Canadian minds against England; early in August, 1837, the radical newspaper, *The Constitution,* published "an address from the reformers of Toronto to their fellow-reformers in Upper Canada;" this document, in effect, constituted a declaration of Canadian independence. The Upper

Canada revolutionists, under Mackenzie, had long been ripe for co-operation with the faction in the lower province, headed by Papineau. During the autumn of 1837, the two provinces, now openly united, appointed a vigilance committee; meetings were addressed by Mackenzie; 1,500 persons were ready to take up arms; a little later, at the date and in the manner already mentioned, the rebellion had passed into civil war. Loyalty, often latent, to the English connection, saved the country from being lost to England. The affair of Montgomery's Tavern was a decisive victory for the English authorities. At the period now reached, January, 1838, Lord John Russell proposed to suspend the Canadian constitution and to send out to the scene of the disturbance a person of high consideration with plenary powers, styled Governor-in-Chief and High Commissioner. His duty was to be the devising of a permanent Canadian constitution. On the queen's statesmen at home the effect of this policy abroad was to rally the Conservative opposition against the Whigs. Sir Robert Peel secured the withdrawal of Lord John Russell's preamble and the insertion of amendments restricting the authority of the new High Commissioner, who was to be Lord Durham, a Whig peer of views so advanced that he had favoured the incorporation of the ballot into the Reform Act of 1832.

Lord Durham was wanting in no kind of mental ability, but only in the moral power to control an impulsive and self-asserting temper. Notwithstanding his avowed sympathies with extreme democratic opinions, this statesman had a curious fondness for the most costly pomp and circumstance of official state; that trait not only made him enemies in both political parties, but at a rather later date very nearly

brought upon him a House of Commons vote disallowing some of his expenses, which would practically have been indistinguishable from a motion of censure. That which made the Durham mission so notable a landmark in the imperial history of the queen's reign was less the despatch of the Commissioner himself than that of his two assistants, Charles Buller and Gibbon Wakefield; the former of these, a pupil of Thomas Carlyle, may have never quite fulfilled the rare promise which, to his contemporaries, an exceptionally brilliant youth seemed to contain. His, however, was the pen that chiefly drew up the famous Durham report on the Canadian troubles. That document, because of the views it expressed, constitutes one of the earliest charters of the colonial self-rule wherein England has found the secret of Imperial greatness. Wakefield, after a stormy youth, among whose incidents was a term of imprisonment for a Gretna Green marriage, had laboured successfully to promote the colonisation of South Australia; that event, happening under the reign of William IV., opened the chapter of nineteenth century colonial enterprise; it had done much to prevent the country being a penal settlement instead of a land of honest and successful industry.

The Whig government did not sufficiently impress on Lord Durham the necessity of moderation and the fact that he was not despatched as a dictator himself, out of hand, to settle the questions which had arisen. The first difficulty was the treatment of the political prisoners implicated in the rebellion. Under the circumstances it was impossible to judge them by the ordinary forms of law. Lord Durham therefore, after having elicited by somewhat questionable means, confessions from these persons of

their implication in the rising, acting with his special council, which had for the time superseded the Legislative Assembly, issued an ordinance banishing these offenders to the Bermudas, and under penalty of death, forbidding not only them, but the insurgent leaders who had escaped to the United States, to return to the Canadas. Lord Durham, by this arrangement, congratulated himself on having, without vindictive measures, and without treating a political offence as a criminal act (for the Bermudas were not a penal settlement), prepared the way for a peaceful arrangement hereafter. He had, however, exceeded his instructions. He had actually created new offences; his conduct, therefore, not only raised in parliament and in the country a cry for his return; it also gave the opposition, long since steadily growing in strength, the very instrument against the government, which they then wanted. The incident in fact formed the chief in the series of occurrences that a little later were to force a Conservative administration upon the queen. Lord Durham himself on his return missed the support on which he had calculated from the extreme Liberals of his party. He re-entered political life; henceforth he was only known as a man with a grievance and as a failure. His career was at an end; two years later, while still in the prime of life, he died. Before anticipating his recall by his resignation, Lord Durham had announced to the Canadians his departure in a long proclamation, regarded at the time as an attack upon the home government and procuring for its author from the *Times* newspaper the sobriquet of the Lord High Seditioner. Lord Durham had not long been back in England when news arrived of a fresh revolt in Canada. Sir John

Colborne, Lord Seaton, the temporary, or, as he afterwards became, the permanent governor, used the extraordinary powers with which he was invested to suppress the rising, although complicated by aggressions from America. The exceptional authority vested in Colborne was to lapse in 1840. Lord Melbourne's government was already preparing a measure of final settlement for the colony. The proposals were based upon the recommendations of Lord Durham, who had observed the root of the whole troubles to be, not political, but racial. He had, therefore, urged a union of the two provinces for the purpose of replacing a local by a national feeling. At the same time the hands of the Canadian parliament were to be strengthened and its functions enlarged by bringing everything within its control, on the understanding that a civil list, once secured for the maintenance of the officials, all financial questions should be left to the assembly. As for the legislative council, it was indeed to remain a nominative body; but an increase was to be made of its members, in such a way as to secure a representative element as well. At the same time the executive, the governor only excepted, was to be responsible to the local parliament; the political education of the people was to be secured by the establishment of a sound system of municipal administration. All these principles were embodied in the Canada Bill, which, before 1840, became law. Full ministerial responsibility, if not at first theoretically in all things admitted, was in practice fully allowed. In the hands of Poulet Thomson, appointed to the governorship in August, 1839, the new Canadian constitution began to work perfectly. Discontent and agitation had come to an end. The

Canadians henceforth uninterruptedly and tranquilly devoted themselves to the improvement of their own land; since then they have been conspicuous for their devoted loyalty to the mother country, illustrated with new force on each fresh emergency from that day to this. Of the imperial movement, thus begun, the historic issue was not to be seen, till nearly a generation had passed away. In 1867 the creation of the Dominion of Canada was to give an enduring impetus to a movement for federation throughout the empire. There seems to-day something of prophetic interest in the fact that the earliest addresses to Sir Francis Head, during the first year of the queen's reign, show the Canadian mind even then to have conceived the idea of a federation of all the States of British America, as well as of colonial representation in the Imperial parliament.

In their personal relation to the queen, the various circumstances of the events opening the colonial history of the Victorian era produced a political situation of affairs which was to show the queen in a new light to her subjects and to her statesmen. Lord Durham's criticisms, in his farewell proclamation on the government's policy, and especially Lord Brougham's * more violent but powerful attacks on the policy in England, had sensibly injured the reputation and diminished the strength of the Melbourne administration. Encouraged, too, by Brougham and other parliamentary Liberals of high degree, the Radicals were willing to make common cause with the Whig government. The policy of Lord Melbourne and his colleagues in dealing

* Brougham's bitterness against his colleagues is generally explained by his not having been offered the Lord Chancellorship.

with chartism, and the local agitations excited by it, as well as their negotiations with Irish nationalism and with O'Connell, had manifestly discredited them in and out of parliament. The crisis came in the May of 1839. The Jamaica Bill brought in by Lord John Russell for suspending the constitution for five years in consequence of difficulties made by the assembly about slave emancipation united the extreme Radicals under Joseph Hume and the Conservatives under Sir Robert Peel against the government. Lord Melbourne interpreted this decrease of his majority as a defeat, how rightly is shown by the fact that a little later, over a bill to increase the education grant, first made in 1833, ministers only carried by two votes their plans for government inspection of schools. The queen's first ministers, therefore, at once resigned. On Lord Melbourne's suggestion, the sovereign consulted the Duke of Wellington, who at once advised her to send for Sir Robert Peel. The familiar sequel may be summarised in a few words. Queen Victoria, from the beginning of her reign, had necessarily lived in a Whig atmosphere. All the chief personages of her court belonged to the Whig connection. A Conservative premier taking office under these conditions was most likely to have found himself thwarted and hampered by those social agencies to which her age, her sex and her earliest associations especially exposed the youthful ruler. Sir Robert Peel therefore, as a preliminary to forming a cabinet, insisted on personal changes in the royal household; these included the ladies about the queen. Such stipulations seemed the more necessary, because, even after their resignation, Lord Melbourne and his colleagues, not in any official capacity, but

as personal acquaintances, continued to visit the palace and even to advise the sovereign in her communications with Peel. Hence the "Bed Chamber Plot," the result, as it is now known to have been, of a misunderstanding which, if cleared up at the time, would not have exposed the Whigs to the taunt of "creeping back to office behind the petticoats of maids of honour." The queen understood she was asked to dismiss all the ladies of her household. As a fact, the minister would have been satisfied by the retirement of a portion of them. The action of the queen, judged even by the constitutional standard of the last half of the nineteenth century, was resented by official Whiggism, rather than by public opinion. In 1835, merely to gratify a personal wish, William IV. anticipated a Conservative reaction when he replaced the Melbourne Whigs by the Conservatives under Peel. The general election to some extent justified the king's act. Queen Victoria had always admired, as well as loved, her uncle; her natural affection, as a daughter, did not prevent, in the matter of the difference between William IV. and the Duchess of Kent, her sympathies from having, on some points, been with her uncle, rather than with her mother. In 1835 William had foreseen the conversion of the country to his own views. So, in 1839, while the queen did not ignore the rising Conservative tide, correctly enough she considered the national and parliamentary judgment on the comparative merits of Whig and Tory to be pretty evenly balanced. The Conservatives under Sir Robert Peel were gaining ground steadily; in 1841 the new conservatism of the country was to give Peel a working majority; in 1839 there were few signs of such an event being near at hand.

The queen's view of the position was practically sound. The Whig vote in the House of Commons was steadily, but not very rapidly, decreasing. Had the process been quicker, probably the misunderstanding would either never have arisen or have been at once removed. No one at the time ever supposed the sovereign in 1839 would have dissolved parliament on the chance of such a step enabling her to retain around her the wives and daughters of the Whigs. For the crown to pledge itself under no circumstances personally to choose ministers would be equivalent to abdicating an essentially constitutional duty. Such a renunciation of prerogative in the present reign, between the years 1840 and 1860, would repeatedly have brought about a parliamentary deadlock. In 1900, as during several years previously, the state of parties in the House of Commons places the possible choice of ministers within narrow and well-defined limits. The present generation has been accustomed to see the new democracy rally round a single statesman of mark; now a Disraeli, now a Gladstone, now a Salisbury, now a Rosebery;—the legislative programme which these statesmen favour or prescribe is that which the country adopts. The democracy issues its mandate. Members of parliament are returned to carry out those instructions, in majorities that are invariably decisive, often numerically overwhelming.

Under these circumstances, no discretion is practically left for a constitutional sovereign to exercise. But he would be a rash prophet who should predict the continuance of this state of things to the close of the twentieth century. Since the wreckage, in 1886, of the Liberal party on the Irish rock, a pro-

cess of parliamentary disintegration has been steadily going forward. Government by party often threatens to give place to government by groups. Something of this sort had actually happened during the second and third decades of the queen's reign. First came the collapse of Lord Melbourne's Whig organisation, followed by the slow growth of the Liberal party in its place. In 1846, Sir Robert Peel, over Free Trade, broke up Conservatism as fatally as, forty years after that date, Liberalism was shattered by Mr. Gladstone. Between 1850 and 1860, or a little later, both Houses of Parliament contained sections calling themselves after the names of famous chiefs, dead or alive. There were the Canningites, the Peelites, the reactionaries who sighed for an hour of Eldon or of Sidmouth; the "Root and Branch" men who began to discipline themselves under Joseph Hume, and who were to be organised for combined action upon lines indicated by Cobden and Bright. Then there was the Whig remnant, gradually discarding the historic label, merging itself in the newer and larger Liberalism. As a consequence of these conditions, majorities at St. Stephen's were very small. It was exceedingly difficult to say what leader on either side would command the confidence of the Commons, would least divide the sections of which that House consisted, and would be most likely to form a stable administration. In 1852 occurred a parliamentary crisis calling more than once for the exercise of the royal initiative. The incidents instructively illustrate the later relations between the crown and its ministers. They may, therefore, be examined here. In 1849, the queen had first signified to the premier, Lord John Russell, her wish

to receive from him as her first minister important despatches to foreign powers before they were actually sent. In 1850, the sovereign further desired that these documents should be submitted to her in time for her forming an opinion upon them, and that, once approved by her, they should not be altered by her minister. Deviations from this line of conduct would, it was intimated, imply a want of respect to the crown, would amount to a breach of faith on the part of the minister, calling for the exercise of the royal prerogative of dismissal. Lord Palmerston, who had occasioned this memorandum, was then foreign secretary,—immensely popular in the country, but not acceptable at court, and trusted by some of his cabinet colleagues even less than by the queen and Prince Albert.—To the conditions now laid down the foreign secretary did not object. It soon became clear that he had no intention of ruling his own actions by them. The English ministry, with the queen's express approval, had decided to preserve a strictly neutral attitude towards Napoleon's *coup d'état* of 1851, followed, as it was, by the establishment of the second Empire. Lord Palmerston, speaking, to quote his own words, as a private individual, to a personal acquaintance, Count Walewski, the French ambassador in England, had signified his approval of Napoleon's action in overthrowing the republic on December 2, 1852. If, therefore, any control over a masterful minister were to be exercised by the crown, some action must clearly be taken now. Had, at an earlier date, Lord John Russell, as chief of the cabinet, cautioned his colleague, if he had not decided to support him;—had he not left it to the sovereign to interfere, the sequel might have been very

different. As it was, the prime minister could find no alternative but to require the foreign secretary's resignation. The dismissed secretary, in his own phrase, prepared to give "John Russell tit for tat." He soon found his opportunity of overthrowing his old colleague. A bill for organising the militia, by way of safeguard against any hostile designs of the new French Emperor, was then going forward. Lord Palmerston, with the help of the malcontent Radicals, the hostile Peelites and the disaffected Whigs, carried an amendment to the measure, which obliged its authors to resign. The Conservatives were unready for office, of which indeed during the reign they had, as yet, had no experience. No party, in fact, in the House of Commons, or in the country, apparently could of itself command a majority. Political experts inclined to a coalition of Whigs and Peelites as the most practical arrangement. The queen, however, sent for the Conservative chief, Lord Derby, who formed the government which introduced to parliamentary office and fame Mr. Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. The defeat of Disraeli's budget by Gladstone, in 1852, still found the House of Commons without any single party or section in a decided preponderance.

Once more, therefore, the queen was called upon to exercise her own judgment. The only two political divisions at all likely to amalgamate and to act in tolerable harmony were the Peelites and Whigs. The one statesman who might be expected to secure such an union was Lord Aberdeen. At the queen's request, that peer therefore formed the coalition ministry; this held office till 1855, when it was overthrown by 305 to 148 on the Roebuck motion inquir-

ing into the Crimean War. And since these events, subsequently even to the formation by household franchise of the present democratic electorate, the decision whether parliament shall be dissolved or ministers be dismissed has been seen necessarily to rest with the sovereign. Thus, in 1868, the Disraeli ministry was decisively beaten in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone over his Irish Church resolutions. Upon this the defeated minister at once recommended an appeal to constituencies; at the same time he signified his readiness to retain office, till the business of the session should be wound up, or to resign, as the sovereign might prefer. The queen would not accept the resignations of the Disraeli government, but declared for a dissolution at the earliest convenient moment. The circumstances attending that exercise of the royal prerogative were, however, exceptional. Certain measures * necessary to complete the new electoral machinery created by the household franchise had yet to be carried before the new constituencies could be appealed to; a change of ministry must, of course, have involved inconvenience and delay in going to the country. Between Queen Victoria and her constitutional advisers is recorded no difference of opinion as to the expediency of proroguing or dissolving parliament. But the experiences of 1868 might easily recur. At any moment, by submitting to the crown different courses of action which appeared to them possible, ministers might impose upon the sovereign that personal responsibility of which constitutional, no more than absolute, monarchy can in the last resort divest itself.

* *I.e.*, the Scotch and Irish Reform Bill and the Boundary Bills.

Since the Bed-Chamber affair of 1839, there has occurred nothing threatening a collision between the co-ordinate branches and the sovereign as the head of the legislature. The story of that earlier difficulty has been already written in this volume at sufficient length. The incident, however, may conveniently be summed up now by saying that, spoken of at the time though it was as prejudicial to the popularity, if not the stability of the throne, it did as a fact produce directly opposite and most auspicious results. Few persons now doubt Sir Robert Peel to have been justified in insisting upon changes in a household which, but a few years earlier, had been chosen by the queen's Whig ministers, chiefly from their own wives and daughters for the express purpose of socially surrounding the sovereign by a Whig environment, impervious to Tory influences. It was no discredit to the queen that she was known to be supported by Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell in her refusal of Peel's condition. But that fact undoubtedly made it the more difficult for Sir Robert to waive his demand without raising a laugh against himself and his colleagues. The abiding good which came out of the apparent evil was expressed in a cabinet minute; that document, after Lord Melbourne's return, prevented a recurrence of the difficulty. The difficulty itself was not new. It had in another form presented itself in 1812, during the negotiations for a new ministry after the assassination of Spencer Perceval. Then it was that Lord Moira's mission failed, because the crown insisted that there should be no changes in the royal household. In 1839 the arguments for and against the line taken by Victoria and her Whig advisers had in them not a little which might

seem unanswerable. Sir Robert Peel's picture of the difficulties to be encountered by a minister who should leave about her Majesty's person nearest relatives of his opponents was not exaggerated. On the other hand, at a period during which ladies exercised so much political power at court as was the case during the reign of Queen Anne, the Whigs fairly adduced the examples of Lady Sunderland and of another lady, who remained in the royal bedchamber during a year or two after their husbands had been dismissed from office. The claim of the Conservative statesman in 1839, as already known, was misunderstood at court. Sir Robert Peel does not really seem to have pressed for the removal, from the higher household offices, of ladies free from strong party or political connection; he only asked the dismissal of those nearly related to the outgoing ministers, who in the natural course were now about to become the leaders of the opposition. The subsequent usage for English queens has been established in the Melbourne cabinet minute just mentioned; this memorandum sets forth that the efficiency and stability of an administration requires for itself all reasonable marks of the crown's confidence; that therefore the great offices in the court and situations in the household held by members of parliament should be included in the political arrangements made on the change of an administration, but that a similar principle need not be applied or extended to the offices held by ladies in the queen's household.

Such constitutional differences, as are disclosed by the Victorian retrospect, since 1839, have arisen, less from any divergence between the sovereign and a single minister, than from the determination of a

statesman, strong in consciousness of popular support, to press his legislative proposals upon an hostile parliament. In the reign of William IV., the Conservatives, favoured by the crown, had denied the right of the state to appropriate the surplus revenues of the Irish Church. It had even been discovered then that the coronation oath would prevent the sovereign sanctioning such a desecration of ecclesiastical wealth. When, therefore, in 1869, Mr. Gladstone proposed to disestablish and to disendow the Irish Church, and, after the satisfaction of existing interests, to apply the bulk of its revenues to secular purposes, it was inevitable that the same objections as to an analogous course a generation earlier, should be raised; once more the ministers' opponents, in the sovereign's interests, if not name, denounce as sacrilegious and unconstitutional the threatened bill. But that the queen would make a show of resenting the alleged infringement of her prerogative, no one ever supposed. There were rumours of a mortal conflict between the elective and hereditary chambers; his opponents were even credited with saying that Mr. Gladstone deserved to be impeached. How the dangerous differences were composed by the queen, acting on the advice of her primate, is set forth in the long story of parliamentary and court negotiations, first published in the biography of Archbishop Tait. No direct influence of the sovereign, but the action of the House of Lords, secured for the Church better terms than those first offered; at the same time all the amendments affecting the principle or main condition of the bill were disallowed; and the royal assent was peacefully given to the measure at the usual date, in the same session which had seen it introduced.

This Gladstonian epoch was crowded with reports of impending collisions between crown and cabinet, or between the one statesman supported by the democracy, which household franchise had organised, and the traditional privileges of the sovereign; of the indications, the most notable was in 1871. Since the Crimean War, largely in consequence of the efforts of Sir Charles Trevelyan, expression had been found by the national feeling that buying and selling of commissions in the queen's army formed an unsatisfactory system. In 1871, Mr. Cardwell passed through the House of Commons a measure of military reform establishing, in addition to short service, the abolition of purchase; the purchase clauses were rejected by the lords; the prime minister, instead of recognising the bill as lost, and preparing to reintroduce it, advised the queen to cancel the royal warrant which allowed the purchase of commissions. That done, the purchase system fell, without any legislation to overthrow it. His opponents condemned the minister's action as arbitrary and even unconstitutional. Not even among the bitterest Tories was criticised the action of the queen in following her minister's advice. Since then have happened other instances of threatened or actual parliamentary collision between the two parties, or between two parties in the state. The first of these thus referred to was over the Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill, introduced by the Gladstone government of 1880. The second occurred in the case of Mr. Gladstone's attempts at Irish Home Rule legislation. Yet another conflict was provoked by Mr. Gladstone's supplement to his rival's Household Franchise Bill of 1867, and the County Franchise measure of 1884. The battle over

the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, after much noise, ended by the peers, on Lord Salisbury's advice, accepting it. The Home Rule agitation ceased to be formidable on Mr. Gladstone's retirement; that difficulty, therefore, ended by effluxion of time. Meanwhile, in 1884, the County Franchise difficulty had been arranged by mediatorial offices of one or two moderate peers. Lord Salisbury received the information he wanted as a condition of accepting the bill; it therefore peacefully withdrew till its completion. In none of these cases was the sovereign's prerogative however involved.

Ten years before her first Jubilee, that of 1887, the queen, with all the circumstance and splendour fitting to the occasion, had, January 1, 1877, been proclaimed Empress of India at Delhi. The Imperial Titles Bill, which preceded that historic event, had produced much excited talk in the House of Commons. It had incidentally elicited from Mr. Robert Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke, a positive declaration that an earlier administration than Mr. Disraeli's had been moved by the court to make the imperial addition to the style of the British crown, but had refused to do so. A few days later, rose in his parliamentary place the then prime minister to say that he had her Majesty's authority for declaring Mr. Lowe's assertion to be absolutely false. During that period, much was said in parliament and in political circles outside concerning the queen's prerogative and the executive privileges of her imperial authority. These privileges had been thought by some to be strained by the employment in Europe of Indian troops, as urged by Mr. Disraeli on the eve of a possible war with Russia. The minister was generally and loosely

charged with having improperly used the sovereign's name to cover his unconstitutional procedure, but in no quarter was it hinted that the queen herself had failed in the letter of her duty as constitutional sovereign.

Before leaving the relations between Queen Victoria and parliaments, it may be interesting to recall the parliamentary circumstances under which the sovereign first heard of the rival statesmen, in whom the present generation sees the two most famous ministers of her reign. In 1837 had been formed an association for the purpose of testing the validity of notoriously corrupt Irish elections; of this movement the chief organiser was the queen's printer, Mr. Spottiswoode; hence the body itself was called the Spottiswoode gang. The House of Commons debates on this subject turned the assembly into a bear-garden. Amid the then unprecedented noise and confusion, Disraeli made the most notorious of his earlier speeches. Beginning, as a critical observer said of him, with florid assurance, speedily degenerating into ludicrous absurdity, he was at last put down with inextinguishable laughter. Mr. Gladstone's early appearance was very different. The subject of negro emancipation in the West Indies, whether by immediate and complete freedom, or by "apprenticeship," very nearly upset, in 1838, the Melbourne government; it produced the dismissal of the vice-chamberlain, Lord Charles Fitzroy, for voting against his party; its chief incident, however, was the then member for Newark's defence of the planters; that speech, by general consent at once placed its maker in the front rank in the House of Commons; it also had produced the very rare effect during its delivery of determining many doubtful voters.

State balls, concerts and drawing-rooms during this period were the chief social occupations of the queen; she also gave many sittings, as also did some of the chief personages of her court, to Sir David Wilkie for their portraits in his picture, already mentioned, of the first council. Buoyancy of temper, singleness of heart, and a wisdom beyond her years, to quote his own words, were the qualities which in his royal sitter chiefly struck the Scotch artist. The placid routine of court life and duties was varied by personal instances, some ludicrous, some criminal. No less an observer than Charles Dickens, in letters to private friends, reproduced in his biography, has borne enthusiastic testimony to the picturesque growth of the sovereign's personal beauty during this portion of her reign. Among her subjects less renowned the sovereign had admirers who did not always hold themselves at a discreet distance. During some months the royal carriage was often dogged by a phaeton driver, who sought to attract attention by absurd gestures. A commercial traveller, one Willetts, sitting on horseback, was occasionally stationed at some point passed by the sovereign on her drive through the park. Some show of an attempt on the life of George III. had been made, as above described, by Margaret Nicholson. During the opening decade of his granddaughter's reign, the privy council officials were searching for precedents about the examination of this woman. As was the case with Sipido, who, in the April of 1900, fired a pistol at the Prince of Wales, the assailants of the actual wearer of the crown were all young, as well as partly or entirely mad; Oxford (1840), who fired at the sovereign on Constitution Hill, was sev-

enteen; Francis (1842), the son of a Drury Lane Theatre machinist, and the imitator of that crime, whose capital sentence, on the queen's intervention, was commuted for life imprisonment, was even younger; Bean, who levelled his pistol as the queen was passing from Buckingham Gate to St. James', was a boy; so also was Maclean, the undoubted maniac, who fired on the queen at Windsor railway station, and who, in 1882, was lodged at Broadmoor.

The experiences that originally disposed the queen seriously to consider the wish of her uncle, Leopold of Belgium, that she should marry, were those through which she had passed in 1839. The Bed Chamber Plot first revealed to crown and country the extent to which the queen's domestic happiness might depend on a House of Commons majority. Other circumstances might have forcibly brought home to the queen the fact that the one friend required by her sex, by her age, by her duties, could only be found in a husband. The arguments in favour of the royal consort being one of her own kindred were, as King Leopold saw, conclusive. The sovereign's mind on the subject was not at once or easily made up. And the whole matrimonial business was arranged entirely by herself, with little reference at last to her uncle, Leopold, and with none at all to her premier, Melbourne. In the October of 1839 the queen had said she could not yet think of marriage. Her long destined suitor, her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, in his own words, therefore "withdrew." King Leopold, however, was too persevering a matrimonial diplomatist to be daunted by any such conventional difficulties. In his own words, King Leopold did not, in a royal courtship, look for immunity from the proverbial rough-

ness incidental to the course of love. He furnished the two Coburg brothers, Albert and Ernest, with letters which they were to present in person to their cousin Victoria. The two dear young men, as in the letters to uncle Leopold she soon came to call them, were impressed by the great development in the character of their cousin since they had last met. The familiar incidents of the royal courtship do not call for minute recapitulation. On October 15, 1839, the queen could gratify her "dearest uncle" by writing to him that she had proposed to Albert, and that they were to be married "very soon after parliament meets in February." It was on November 23 that the queen, wearing at the time a bracelet containing Albert's picture, announced the forthcoming event to her council. The bride-elect has recalled for us the touching scene. The chief figure at that council indelibly printed on her mind was Lord Melbourne, with tears in his eyes. When parliament opened in 1840, the declaration of the marriage was repeated to a wider audience. On the whole the news was well received. Some prejudices had indeed been excited, many absurd rumours, to be followed in after years by rumours absurder still, about the prince had been circulated. It might perhaps have been better if the Protestantism of the queen's future husband had from the first been authoritatively announced; half a century ago the English masses knew much less even than to-day about foreign matters. A vulgar superstition existed that any prince not of British birth must be spiritually a subject of the pope. The parliamentary preliminaries were arranged without serious difficulty. The sum first proposed by the Whig government for the future consort was the same as that

which had been allotted to Queen Anne's husband, as well as to Leopold, who had married the Princess Charlotte, namely, £50,000 a year. The amount seemed unreasonable in itself, in view of the low wages, of the scarce work, and of the highly priced food which had produced the chartist and other disturbances. The mention of such a sum was certainly unfortunate. Sir Robert Peel joined his Conservative forces with the Radicals in advocating a reduction; the ministry gave way on this, as on other matters. Finally the income was settled at £30,000. Nor was the false step in the matter of money the only mistake committed by the government in this matter. The question of social precedence had to be considered. An ill-advised attempt to give the prince by parliamentary statute priority over all the royal family was abandoned. After some delay and not a little ungracious wrangling, the prince's place was fixed, not as has been sometimes said by patent under the great seal but by warrant under the sign manual.* A public declaration of the prince's Protestantism was also authorised. The controversy may have seemed inauspicious, but it soon passed entirely from the popular memory. The prince himself showed, in the trying situation, a dignified good temper and composure which made him many fresh friends. His single reference to the matter is contained in one of his letters to the queen, long since published, "since," he writes, "while I possess your love, they cannot make me unhappy." On February 6, 1840, the prince ar-

* The exact significance of the course pursued is explained in Greville's *Journal of Queen Victoria*, Vol. I., p. 273, as well as in a pamphlet written at the time by him, and re-published as an appendix at the end of the volume.

rived at Dover, to find a singularly reassuring welcome awaiting him. The wedding ceremony itself lacked no element of personal, of political, of social or of historic interest. It was the first time, in more than a century, that an English queen regnant had linked her lot with a husband. The service of course was to be performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury; during his preliminary interviews with the bride, the primate had asked her whether he should omit from the service the promise to obey. "My wish," came the characteristic reply, "is to be married not as a queen, but as a woman." The few historically most important features in the event of February 10, 1840, may be summed up in a very few words. Accompanied by his father, the duke, and by his brother Ernest, Prince Albert preceded the queen to St. James' Palace and into the Chapel Royal. In his hand he carried a velvet covered Bible, the decorations worn by him were the star and ribbon of the Order of the Garter. As on the left of the altar, the bridegroom waited for the bride, every one seems to have noticed the family likeness to the queen, shown in his countenance, perfectly calm as throughout the ceremony it remained.

At the very moment of the bride's entry with the twelve bed-chamber ladies and maids of honour who were her bridesmaids the sun burst forth from behind a cloud, filling the building with many coloured light, reflected from be-diamonded dresses. The old Duke of Sussex, whose touching recognition by his niece during the coronation ceremony was then still fresh in the public mind, gave the bride away. As the ring was placed on the finger the artillery from the Tower and from half-a-dozen other

metropolitan fortresses was heard. All the church bells within the bills of mortality pealed forth. Immediately afterwards were inscribed in the official volume, the full names of the wife and husband as Victoria Alexandrina Guelph and Francis Albert Augustus Charles Emanuel Busici. The Duke of Wellington, who had attested the entry of the bride's birth, now signed the register of her marriage.

The reforming zeal of the queen's husband began immediately to make itself felt. Confusion, abuses, and waste in the management of the royal household had been unchecked since William IV. on his accession meditated many, and actually introduced a few reforms. In 1840 the mismanagement seemed more flagrant than ever. The prince at once recognised in the absence of any central control and responsibility the true cause of the scandalous money-waste; other instances of neglect had to be dealt with. When palace repairs were in course of execution, doors were left open and unguarded. Whoever would might enter; remove what he pleased, with every chance of impunity. It was not unknown, for the servants entering in the morning the queen's private apartments, with broom and brush, to find a strange boy or man stretched beneath a sofa or table, where unperceived he had passed the night. A work so needful and so searching as that to which his new position committed him, made Prince Albert enemies and caused a good deal of unpleasant friction between himself and various persons with whose vested rights the palace reformers seemed to interfere. The years following the queen's marriage were marked by social and industrial disturbance throughout the country, repeatedly, as it seemed, threatening to end

in civil war. Harvests were bad, wages low, and work scarce. Exasperated at the refusal to enquire into the grievances underlying the agitation, the chartists seemed bent on overturning the executive. While Birmingham, many other Midland districts and South Wales, were scenes of constant collision between civil rioters and the soldiery, the militant eloquence of O'Connell kept the greater part of Ireland in a high state of inflammation. International relations wore a look almost as angry as that of the position at home. England's nearest continental neighbour seemed bent upon turning the Mediterranean into a French lake and of using Mehemet Ali, the Egyptian pasha, to cut off the English route to India. Prince Albert possessed a knowledge, at once comprehensive and exact, of foreign politics, which without determining the queen's official sympathies, could not but prove deeply instructive to her, as indeed her ministers after their conversations with the prince had found his knowledge to be, to themselves. Lord Palmerston's star was now steadily rising. Under William IV. that statesman had shown a penetrating sagacity in dealing with the politics of Eastern Europe. While the court and the country, the prince, the queen and both Houses of Parliament were watching each of his successive moves amid something of the critical interest shown by expert spectators over a rubber of whist, when the cards are held by first-rate players; the foreign secretary had concluded a treaty between Austria, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, checkmating France, placing Egypt under Turkish protection. To the whole English people, especially to the different sections of the middle classes, this was a period in which events and the

example of court interests were diffusing a new education in those international subjects that the Crimean War, a little later, was to bring into fresh prominence. Prince Albert himself wisely abstained from public words upon these or any other controversial topics. His first public speech in England, October 16, 1840, dealt with the slave trade. It had been learned by heart; before its public delivery, it had been repeated to the queen. And that was the method adopted in the case of all addresses thereafter.

Disraeli's description of the English aristocracy as a caste, knowing only one language, its own, never reading, and living in the open air, seemed more true during the years following the queen's marriage, than it has since become. With certain fashionable cliques, it became the mode, to speak disparagingly of Albert as a bookish prince, with a professor's aptitude for science, and a professor's ability to give most musicians or artists lessons in their own subjects. Gradually however the queen's husband proved himself as proficient in the camp, and in the hunting field, as any of the queen's subjects,—born in the one, or trained from childhood, in the other. Before the second anniversary of the wedding-day, of the two boldest and best judging riders, with the Pytchley or Quorn Packs, Prince Albert was admittedly one; a place near him was given to Prince Louis Napoleon, then a refugee occupying lodgings in King Street, St. James', thereafter to become, as Napoleon III., Emperor of the French. During the summers of 1840–1, a series of visits to famous country houses improved the personal acquaintance between the prince consort and the English upper classes. In this way,

the royal couple were received as guests by the premier, Lord Melbourne, at Brocket, by the Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick, by the Duke of Bedford at Woburn. This progress came at an opportune time. It was the eve of the general elections, which from the beginning went steadily against Lord Melbourne. When, while the harvest was still going forward, the new parliament met, Lord Melbourne's Whig ascendancy had given place to a majority of 367 Conservatives as against 286 Liberals. His own personal supporters would have given Sir Robert Peel all the strength he wanted, joined as he was by the Whig secessionists from Lord Grey, Lord Ripon, Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham; when, on September 3, 1841, Peel kissed hands as First Lord of the Treasury, he had become head of the only powerful, and as it then seemed, compact administration which the nineteenth century had yet given to the Tories. This change of political régime had been rendered easier and smoother for the queen by the unselfish loyalty and disinterested wisdom of the defeated minister, Lord Melbourne. The memory of the incidents that in 1839 had prevented a Conservative government and had sent the Whigs back was still fresh in the public mind. The queen's known regard for her first premier was enough to have determined the casting of many votes for the Whigs. But the long wish of Lord Melbourne, as well as of the royal uncle, Leopold of Belgium, had now for some time been an accomplished fact. The paternal affection for the young sovereign, entertained by her uncle of Belgium and the English statesman, had been happily gratified by her union with the prince, whose presence and counsel would render her, so far as

might be, independent of other friendly advice and support. The meeting between the constitutional sovereign and the Conservative premier, after the latter had been sent for, was not without its opening embarrassments. Peel and the queen were both shy. That feeling on the sovereign's part soon gave way to another and far more enduring disposition before the prime minister had left Windsor Castle; the queen intimated her opinion of him, by her remark to Prince Albert, that all statesmen should be the personal friends of both. The mutual feeling of confidence and regard between the sovereign and the statesman was a little later cemented by the public use to which Sir Robert Peel found an occasion of turning the special knowledge possessed by the prince, and by the queen's husband taking a chief place on the Fine Art commission, whose labours were to be crowned by the Great Exhibition of 1851; though, as yet, eight years were to elapse before, in June, 1849, the prince convened at Buckingham Palace a meeting of the Society of Arts, before which, according to some authorities, the queen's husband first explained his project. To the queen's husband, as well as to some of those associated with him, especially to Mr. Dilke, all honour is due for the cosmopolitan gathering at Hyde Park Corner, when the nineteenth century had reached the middle of its course. The idea does not, however, seem to have originated with the prince, or with any one of his contemporaries. The World's Fair at Frankfort-on-the-Main had been a social and commercial feature of the sixteenth century. At a later day the movement that led up to the events of 1851 in England was conspicuously promoted by France. During the revolutionary years of the eighteenth century a

French expedition had been sent out for the measurement of the earth. The convention government, too, it was which brought about the great Polytechnic School, the Conservatorium of Music, of Arts, of Trades, the Museum of Natural History, the Institute and the Normal College. The French Directory had been established by the constitution of 1795; in the September of its third year, which witnessed Napoleon's campaign in Egypt, was opened on the Champs de Mars the first industrial exhibition ever held; the originator of the project, who personally presided over it, was a certain François de Neufchateau. In 1801, 1802, 1806, exhibitions of the same kind, but on a much larger scale, were held in Paris; later, during the reign of Louis XVIII.; again, once under Charles X., and thrice under Louis-Philippe, that is in the years 1834, 1839, 1844, occurred a celebration of the same kind. Without, however, the momentum given by the personal initiative, the discriminating sympathy, by the scientific and artistic knowledge and interest of Prince Albert, would never have been witnessed the peaceful and magnificent pageant described in words equally impressive and accurate by the queen herself, and so familiar to all readers throughout her empire as to render unnecessary their quotation here. Not only the Crystal Palace at Sydenham,—built of the materials that had formed the edifice in Hyde Park,—but the South Kensington Museum, as well as the education of which it is the centre, has sprung from the 1851 World's Show in London. From the first day that Prince Albert had made England his home, he showed a practical and minute interest in all that concerned decorative art and science; he examined, for instance, the

paint used on the panels of English carriages, compared it with that employed in France or Germany for blazoning heraldic bearings; he found the advantage to be entirely on the side of the English. A little later he gave his attention to the encouragement of frescoes. In this he was much helped by the artistic eye and skill of the queen herself. To the court interest in art at this period are due the paintings that to-day adorn the lobbies of the houses of parliament, as well as the walls of Buckingham Palace, and the remunerative employment which skilled hands have since continuously found in a department of art before Prince Albert's day unknown or unpractised.

The conditions of English life on which the queen's reign had opened were, and for some time continued to be, dark and disquieting. It was not till 1842 that the country at large began to realise the happier era which the queen's marriage was really introducing. By that time the harvests had improved. Sir Robert Peel's finance promised to secure the confidence of the business classes; some of the relief yielded by his budget to the consumer was already felt. New manufactures, and the scientific improvements in production accompanying them, were giving employment to whole classes long out of work. The magnificent and instructive collections of art treasures at South Kensington have educated not only the popular taste, but the hands and eyes of English workmen; they have even revived entire industries which had been looked upon as lost arts. South Kensington itself, all the teaching of which it is the symbol, the synonym and the centre, had their origin in the influence issuing from the court of Queen Victoria, and from the

mind of her husband. The social benefits accruing to the community from the queen's marriage were, of course, first felt by the capital.

The movement that eventually was to make the parliamentary session coincident with the London season may almost be said to have had its beginnings under the Plantagenets; then complaints were first made of the numbers and strangeness of those who were attracted for purposes of business or pleasure to the metropolis while the Houses were sitting at Westminster. The social London which all the world knows to-day, with all its picturesquely cosmopolitan and entertaining features, is a purely Victorian growth. It was first distinctly presaged at the Great Exhibition period of 1851. The London season of later Victorian years scarcely existed on its present scale before a generation ago. The second French Empire came to an end on the field of Sedan. The city on the Seine suddenly ceased to be the fashionable pleasure-ground of the world; the souls of good Americans had long been said after death to go to Paris. In 1870, and continuously thereafter, our transatlantic kindred found in London what they once saw only in Paris. During the earlier years now mentioned, it was the gaiety of the British metropolis, during the first springs and summers after the queen's marriage, which quickly diffused satisfaction and prosperity through all the trading classes. These advantages extended to the provinces as well. William IV. and his two predecessors had all been fond of visiting the notable country houses and country towns of their kingdom. Soon after Prince Albert was settled in England, English royalty became even unprecedentedly locomotive. The prince liked travelling; he was en-

couraged by the queen and by her ministers to improve his acquaintance with English society; on the occasion of his appearance at Oxford, to receive an honorary degree, he had been asked by another guest,—the Duke of Wellington,—to the Waterloo dinner, given at Apsley House; the prince's eventual absence from the company provoked some unfavourable comment; no occasion for such comment presented itself a second time. The activity since shown by King Edward VII., when Prince of Wales, in moving about the country does but reproduce the judicious zeal displayed by both his parents at a time when all the stimulating influences which royalty could supply were wanted to dispel the gloom and dissatisfaction brought with them by a succession of bad years.

The new humanitarian spirit already shown in the national movement against the slave trade had been quickened by royal sympathy before finding expression in the statute book. The generous impulse fostered by the court spread through the governing classes, animated the entire nation; it thus produced the factory legislation, with which is rightly associated the name of Lord Ashley, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury.

In the books of the Royal Society may be still seen the queen's signature, penned in her bold, clear handwriting, upon her accession. Next to its imperial aspects, no feature of the reign has been more significant or sustained than the recognition to science, in all its branches and applications, given by the Victorian court. The British Association had been established by Sir David Brewster, Sir Roderick Murchison and others, under William IV. Its meetings increased in importance, in reputation

and in popular attractiveness after Prince Albert, at her Majesty's special wish, had, as annual president, associated himself with the institution. That to-day physical science is recognised in the school and college curriculum is due, in a greater degree than to any other single cause, to the recommendations and labours on more than one education commission of the queen's husband. The same may be said also about the study of modern languages. Prince Albert's prizes at Eton and other great schools, for proficiency in French and German, preceded the examinations for entrance by competition into the civil service. While these solid and lasting services to English society at large were being performed by British sovereignty during the first four decades of the century, the polite world was developing amusing features and varied interests which so shrewd an observer as Lord Beaconsfield declared to be the chief social events of the Victorian epoch. Gore House, South Kensington, was known to habitués of the 1851 Exhibition as the restaurant of Alexis Soyer, the famous cook. Before then it had been the home of Lady Blessington and Count Alfred D'Orsay, whose hospitalities first brought together people of all sorts and conditions, in a fashion more intimate and entertaining than had been known under the earlier Hanoverian sovereigns. A short, thickish, vulgar-looking man without the slightest resemblance to his Imperial uncle, or any intelligence in his countenance; such is the first mention contained in English nineteenth century literature of the future Napoleon III., whose companion was his faithful and ubiquitous friend, Persigny. Other frequenters of this first of the London cosmopolitan salons were Captain Marryat,

Bulwer Lytton, Thomas Moore, the friend and biographer of Byron, Walter Savage Landor, Macready the actor, the creator, as he may be called, of the reputable popularity of the modern English stage; Charles Buller, the true author of Lord Durham's colonial letter, Lord Durham himself, Lord Brougham and Lord Lyndhurst.

It was while the Victorian court was making itself felt as a centre of the national life that the nation heard with joy of the birth of the queen's eldest son. The event was attended by one or two incidents of social interest, so significant that they may be mentioned here; when a royal child is born the officer in command of the guard at St. James' Palace is entitled to promotion; the prince was born on November 9 at 10.48, just three minutes after the guard was relieved and the new guard entered the New Palace yard; the officer of the old guard claimed promotion, because the sentries had not been actually changed at the moment of the birth; the new officer claimed it because he himself was already in the yard at the time. A like controversy arose between the actual and the ex-mayor of Chester as to which of the two should have the baronetcy that the birth of a Prince of Wales, who is Earl of Chester, places at the mayor's disposal.

The queen's uniform acquiescence in the constitutional principle of ministerial responsibility, the bestowal of her confidence on her advisers, the statesmen indicated by the national will, have been accompanied by no diminution of the sovereign's close attention to affairs of state, or even her personal influence upon them. When, in 1841, the constituencies had pronounced against Lord Melbourne and the Whigs in favour of Sir Robert Peel

and the Conservatives, their reception by the crown assured the incoming ministers that the transfer of its confidence from their predecessors to themselves was complete and sincere. Such, too, was the experience a quarter of a century later of Lord Palmerston. He had not always been a court favourite; no sooner was he the manifest object of the national choice than the relations between the minister and the court were publicly perceived to be in no way prejudiced by the events that ten years earlier had caused his dismissal from the foreign office.

The coast fortifications of the south of England owe their existence largely to the co-operation between Prince Albert as representative of the crown and Lord Palmerston. These defences had been recommended by various military commissions. It was not till the popular minister aroused the country to a sense of their imperative need, and till that statesman's arguments were strengthened by the judicious patriotism of the queen's husband, that the great scheme was actually carried out. Still more directly exercised and felt was the influence of the crown during the international negotiations at the Crimean War epoch. Thus, in 1854, shortly after Napoleon III. had visited England, while Lord Clarendon was yet her foreign secretary of state, that minister daily consulted the sovereign, who was dissatisfied with the diplomacy of Austria, and who herself suggested to Clarendon the use of French influence to correct certain features in Austrian policy. When the French foreign minister, Monsieur Drouyn de Lhuys, showed himself less accommodating than had been expected, the English court secured the replacement of that diplomatist at the French foreign office by Count Walewski.

At a very much later date than this the diplomatic intervention of the English crown has affected the entire course of European affairs. The history of the war scare of 1875 is now as well known as it ever will be. Bismarck has given his own account of it, entirely, and to any careful reader of the authentic memoirs of Monsieur de Gontant Biron, obviously, untrue. The then German chancellor, at the date named, was straining his influence to incite the Kaiser to a fresh attack upon France. Among the confused statements and counter statements upon the subject, the following points now seem to be clearly established. Queen Victoria wrote the letter to the German Emperor deprecating war; whether she said or did more or less than the Emperor of Russia towards helping the German Empress to prevent a breach of the peace, nobody knows or ever will know; for Prince Bismarck, as already said, has not told the truth; no other person has now the means of ascertaining what that truth exactly was.

Almost passed away is the generation which witnessed anything that can be construed into a political attack upon the monarchy as an institution. In March, 1872, Sir Charles Dilke brought forward a motion, not, as has sometimes been said, on the crown itself, but on the civil list; the resolution was seconded by Mr. Aubron Herbert, with certain general conclusions favourable to republicanism; the whole matter was disposed of by Mr. Disraeli, who cited facts and figures proving monarchy to be a less costly form of government than a republic. Since then has been witnessed no sign of any attack upon the monarchy as an institution.

The general election of 1880, placing Mr. Glad-

stone in power, afforded the first decisive evidence of England having become a democracy. Thoughtful persons, however, perceived that, notwithstanding the apparent paradox, this national development would be favourable, rather than hostile, to the opportunities of the crown. The household voters, who constituted the democratic electorate, were not penetrated by republican ideas: they had inherited all the political and patriotic traditions of the ten-pounders of 1832; they placed themselves unconditionally in the hands of the statesman, now a Beaconsfield, now a Gladstone, whom they elected to trust. These two ministers represented each of them political forces seldom so completely embodied in individual statesmen. Interesting and influential as were the personalities of these great men, they never eclipsed the presence of the sovereign in the popular eye. More and more indeed the country has seen in the crown, not only the symbol of national and imperial unity, but a guarantee of continuity in the conduct of its affairs. The excessive organisation of the democracy by means of the caucus, some twenty years ago, was thought by some persons likely to diminish the generally representative character of the House of Commons. Hence a fresh, if a transient, access of influence to the newspaper press, and especially to that portion of it specially affected to the industrial interest, became distinctly visible at the time. Simultaneously also the daily concern of the sovereign for all that touched the welfare of her people caused her subjects at home and abroad instinctively to turn to the queen as at least not less representative than her parliament of themselves. These are the convictions which throughout the Anglo-Saxon world

found expression at the jubilees of 1887 and 1897. The imperial significance of the queen's reign found its parliamentary expression in the Imperial Titles Bill of Lord Beaconsfield. That measure may have been unnecessary or even mistaken. It did, however, reflect the dominant spirit of its period. To-day the controversy excited at the time has lost most of its interest. The parliamentary division on the queen's title strictly followed party lines. The Conservatives to a man supported the proposal; the Liberals in mass, including those Unionists who were afterwards to follow a Conservative premier, opposed it. The most violent jingo on the Liberal side was the late Joseph Cowen, who, a little before, had astonished parliament by his eloquent defence of Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy. Mr. Cowen furiously attacked the bill on the ground of the inferiority of the new title to the grand old style "of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and of Ireland, queen," or, in popular parlance, queen of England. Both the opponents and supporters of the change may find justification for their arguments then in what has happened since. Conservatives can point to an empire still daily growing in cohesion and loyalty. On the other hand, throughout the colonies, where the queen was, by statute, empress, the monarch was always referred to by her more ancient and monosyllabic style. The designation itself and the events connected with it are only of interest or significance now as an incident of a period during which the Colonial Empire of the queen has in mere population quadrupled. On her accession, her colonial subjects were at most 4,000,000; they have now risen to nearly 16,000,000. Meanwhile hamlets in our colonies have grown to

great and prosperous cities, to and fro between which flows a stream of commerce, annually representing at least £150,000,000. Since during the first years of Victoria, Lord Durham, helped by Charles Buller's pen, animated by Gibbon Wakefield, published his rescript on colonial policy; the Canadian constitution was established; since then all our chief dependencies have received self-government. United to the mother country by the slenderest of legal ties, these Greater Britains beyond seas have shown themselves by the latest events to be bound by links stronger than adamant to the English throne. Material causes, as well as monarchical sentiment, have indeed contributed to such results. The growth of population and of capital at home; the necessity of new outlets for both abroad; the gold discoveries of Australia; the demand of English manufacture for foreign materials; the abolition of criminal transportation to the Antipodes;—each of these facts has helped to make the empire of Queen Victoria what the twentieth century finds it to be. All these agencies taken together do not perhaps fully explain that empire's growing prosperity and sustained devotion to an imperial sovereign.

The results arrived at, during the survey of the historic evolution of the monarchical principle in England may now be very briefly summarised. The visible beginnings of English kingship wore the garb of knightly chivalry. The English throne grew out of the concentration of Egbert and Alfred of seven kingdoms (the heptarchy) into one. With the Norman conquest came the infusion of Celtic culture. The typical Plantagenet with his characteristically English face and strong physique, Henry II., conquered Ireland and made his crown supreme

over the whole group of Western Isles. The Crusading monarch, Richard Cœur de Lion, subjected Wales and sold his crown-right over Scotland for 10,000 merks. With Edward III. and his victories, English kingship became European sovereignty; in England itself, the foundations of parliamentary government were being laid. The Wars of the Roses (1455--1485) meant a military monarchy for a whole generation. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth identified the crown with independence of Rome and therefore with some measure of religious liberty. The free church is the most enduring part of Cromwell's experiment. The predecessor of the Hanoverians, William III., prepared the way for the religious toleration and the extinction of ecclesiastical bigotry, that has been completed under Victoria. The Georges witnessed reluctantly the beginnings both of constitutional monarchy and of democracy. These movements were each of them advanced under William IV. They were practically closed under Victoria.

"I have asked you, who have always served near me, to come here that I may take leave of you before you start on your long voyage to a distant part of my empire, in whose defence your comrades are now so nobly fighting. I know that you will always do your duty to your sovereign and your country, wherever that duty may lead you, and I pray to God to protect you and bring you back safely home." These words were addressed in November 1899, by Queen Victoria to the household cavalry as they were leaving for the war. Other British sovereigns, on like occasions, have spoken to their subjects. Queen Elizabeth addressed her people at Tilbury Fort. Queen Anne's voice, during the wars of her period,

was more than once heard by her troops departing for the campaign. That which distinguished the utterances of Victoria from those of all her predecessors was the tact,—itself a product of heart as well as intellect,—with which she chose her language; the words were not only those that exactly suited the occasion and the hearers; they were those of one, who not only knew exactly what she herself wished to say, but who divined the thoughts and needs of those she addressed. It is not generally crimes that unmake monarchs and destroy dynasties. Charles I. and Louis XVI. were beheaded not for their vices but for their blunders. Not only failings like those, but any step in the direction of them, was, from the first day of her reign to its last, avoided by Victoria. To this clear good sense must be ascribed that growth in liberty, in progress and that expansion of England which were the chief events of the reign. "The most exactly truthful person I have ever met" was John Bright's description of his sovereign. "The greatest personal force for good" contained in her empire is, from another point of view, a description equally true. The queen's letters to her ministers during the Crimean period, urging the supply of fresh hospital accommodation at home and abroad; the encouragement given by her and her husband to Miss Florence Nightingale's mission of mercy to the Crimea; these were the earlier, in a long series of acts of beneficence which more than fulfilled the promise of the queen's childish years, and which, since 1837, have made the crown not only the symbol of imperial unity abroad, of political, of social unity at home, but also the inspiration of the better and higher life of the country. That this is not the

language of exaggeration will be admitted by all who knew the queen's life and character, even if merely from the casual records of the daily newspaper. The Victoria Cross, as a decoration for the self-sacrifice that has made the British Empire, expresses the spirit the sovereign had never failed herself to show, and does not a little to explain why, at the darkest moment of our history the nation's spirit rises to the demand made upon it. All preceding monarchs have, as has been shown at some length in the previous pages, influenced generally for good the life and character of their people. Queen Victoria was the first, by her example and action, to ennoble and exalt that character and life.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM NINETEENTH TO TWENTIETH CENTURY SOVEREIGNTY.

While this volume has been passing through the press, her subjects have lost the great and good ruler in whose reign it had advanced some way towards completion. The contrast between Victoria and all her predecessors was not less marked in the manner of her death, than it had been throughout the vicissitudes of life. Her exact regard for truth was instrumental in purifying the atmosphere, amid which she breathed her last, of the falsehoods that surrounded the departure of earlier sovereigns of the Hanoverian line. George I., fresh from the shock of the death of Sophia Dorothea, whom he had imprisoned at Ahlden, died in his carriage, as he was driving to Osnabrück, June 9th, 1727. George II., on the morning of October 25th, 1760, at Kensington Palace, though he had risen and sipped his chocolate as usual, had alarmed his attendants by something strange in his expression and manner. A rumour of his indisposition, mysteriously circulated, caused enquiries to be made at the palace. "His Majesty was in the best of health, was about to take a walk in the gardens." This information had scarcely been given, when a page of honour, just before leaving the room, heard a groan and a thud like a faggot, falling from the fire; he turned round, to find the king lying dead of apoplexy on the floor. George III., palsied, blind, and mad, had endured nine years of a living death. On the morning of

January 29th, 1820, the *Times* published an official paragraph, not indeed denying, but making very light of, his indisposition. By noon on the same day, the same newspaper issued a special edition, to announce that all was over. During the early May of 1830, George IV. was occupied with arranging his forthcoming visit to Ascot races; paragraphs, hinting at his serious illness, published in the morning, were contradicted in the evening; shortly before dawn on June 26th, his Majesty awoke in great agitation. Sir Walter Waller helped to raise him from his bed; the king could just ask, "Watty, what is this?" "It is," he exclaimed, "death; they have deceived me;" another moment, and all was peacefully over. William IV., generally happy throughout his life, was saved the disappointment he had dreaded at his death; in the morning of June 18th, after having received the sacrament, he said to the primate: "I should like to see the sun of Waterloo set." He had his wish, for the repeated attacks of asthma did not prove fatal till the 20th.

The last English queen before Victoria, Anne, by her sudden death brought to nought all those schemes of the political gamblers, who surrounded her, that depended for their success upon her life. The sovereign, who of all others, in the greatness of her name, and the glory of her reign, most resembled Victoria, was the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn. Victoria passed away, surrounded by her children and her children's children; the subjects of an empire, watching in prayer by her bedside, or standing uncovered at her coffin. When Elizabeth breathed her last, she was the unhappiest woman in all her kingdom; she knew all the torments of vain remorse for the death of Essex; she saw the sign of divine vengeance in the assured prospect, that, after the Tudor line had died with

her, her crown would pass to the son of that cousin, Mary of Scotland, whom, sixteen years earlier, in 1587, she had suffered to be done to death. While, both in itself and its surroundings, the last scene in Queen Victoria's life was thus in keeping with the simple state and sustained splendour of a blameless and beneficent life; most of what concerned her was untouched by the distorting tongue of gossip. "As rich as the queen" had long been a popular comparison. There was no malice but only idle fiction in the stories once current about her private wealth; in 1885 Queen Victoria thought it well to contradict the rumour of her investment of a million in ground rents in London city,—adding that she had no such sum at her disposal. The "savings" of Victoria were spent in the interests of those among her descendants, who could not look for their incomes to the state; her life was passed under a sense of pecuniary responsibility for the endowment of her sons' dukedoms, as well as for making a provision for her grandchildren; each of her daughters received a marriage portion of £100,000; liberal settlements were made on others of her family. Her life was insured for rather more than half a million, not by herself or by any of her family, but by leaseholders; these held their property under the old system of three or more lives. The queen's was the last life in very many of these leases. The royal property in Scotland included Balmoral and two other separate estates. The Isle of Wight property at Osborne has much increased in value since Prince Albert bought it in 1844; it appears to have been bequeathed to the Princess Beatrice; Claremont, near Esher, has been occupied by the Duchess of Albany since her widowhood in 1884. The Scotch property goes to King Edward VII. As for estates abroad, the queen never had "large properties at Coburg-Gotha."

The villa Hohenlohe was bought as a relic of the queen's half sister, Princess Feodore, the Duchess of Kent's daughter by her first marriage with Prince Leiningen. Of the private objects on which Queen Victoria expended money, that which chiefly interested her was the mausoleum at Frogmore, where she now lies buried by her husband's side. As the coffin was being removed thither from St. George's chapel, two doves flew into the open door of that chapel. As the procession moved towards Frogmore they came out; they accompanied the funeral cortège till the tomb was reached.

The pecuniary relations respectively occupied by Queen Victoria and her successor toward the nation and the national treasury have been much misrepresented; they may as well be shortly explained now. Before 1760, were set apart for maintaining the civil government, and for the support of the sovereign's official and private dignity, all the hereditary revenues of the crown, as well as certain taxes. On his accession in the year just named, in consideration of a civil list annuity of £800,000, George III. surrendered a portion of his revenues. Following his father's example, George IV. obtained an increase of £50,000 on his civil list. Out of £850,000 thus received he had, however, to pay the entire cost of foreign embassies, of consulships, of pensions, amounting to £95,000 a year, as well as the salaries of great officers of state. These deductions left the king for himself rather less than £450,000 a year. William IV. and Queen Victoria both of them surrendered those hereditary revenues which George III. had reserved, the income of the duchy of Lancaster alone excepted. William's civil list amounted to £510,000, exclusive, however, of the ordinary charges of civil government now defrayed by the state. Queen Victoria's civil list was £385,000. The

whole of this sum went to the support of the royal household and dignity, all the charges of civil government having been transferred to the consolidated fund. The Victorian civil list, if sufficient for the sovereign, was not a transaction disadvantageous to the nation. The crown revenue surrendered represented a sum of not much less than half a million annually. In addition to that, there were the hereditary excise, worth £350,000 a year, and the post-office revenue, some four million a year, with other smaller items. Edward VII. legally would have been entitled, in place of the civil list, to resume the historic revenues of the crown. As a fact, however, their surrender at the beginning of each reign has now become a part of the constitution. Equally constitutional is it for the sovereign to wear a crown before the ceremony of coronation. In the case of George II. that rite was not performed till October 11th, 1727. On the previous June 27th the king had worn his crown and other regal ornaments when he opened parliament. So, too, George III., when he met the expiring parliament within three weeks of his accession. The coronation service was only held a twelvemonth later. The experience of William IV. was the same. Queen Victoria, while yet uncrowned, opened her first parliament, wearing at the time a diamond circlet. Whenever, in the case of Edward VII., the function may be celebrated, the disestablishment of the Irish church and the growth of non-established churches beyond the four seas, will render necessary certain changes, yet to be decided on, in the coronation oath. The service itself will be in all essential features that already familiar to the whole Anglo-Saxon world. The new sovereign is seated in a chair before the throne; he is then symbolically represented to his people, who, in the persons of boys of Westminster school, do

him homage. The "recognition" is followed by the oblation of gifts on the altar; the Litany is chanted; the Communion Office is begun; the coronation oaths are taken, directly after the reading of the Nicene Creed. Next comes the sovereign's investment with the insignia, typifying ecclesiastical supremacy—the alb, the stole, the pallium; then the presentation of the spurs, the sword of state and the sceptre. After this follows the coronation itself; then the interrupted Communion service is completed. The queen consort is now crowned and anointed. She takes her place on the throne on the king's lap. The royal pair then receive the sacrament together.

The political need of hastening the coronation has ceased since the sovereign's title has been no longer in dispute. Henry VII., for instance, was crowned Sunday, October 30th, 1485, while fresh from his victory on Bosworth field. In recent years Tuesdays and Thursdays have been coronation favourites. Midsummer day, 1902, the nativity of John the Baptist, occurs on the Thursday. The English climate is then less treacherous than earlier in the year. It is not, therefore, impossible or perhaps unlikely that this may prove the date of the first great royal pageant witnessed at Westminster during the twentieth century.*

The new king, not only by birth and education, but by the period at which his regal or, to speak quite correctly, his vice-regal, course began, belongs to the nineteenth century. Since the death of his father in 1861, more especially since his own marriage in 1863, he has taken the lead in all those works of social usefulness and interest, which, as has been already seen, it is a chief and beneficent function of the royal prerogative in a democratic era

*The coronation took place on 9th August 1902.

to encourage and to direct. The Prince Consort, as the queen's representative, was becoming the recognised head of English society, the royal patron of art, science and letters, the pioneer of patriotic or philanthropic enterprise, when he suddenly died. It was the era of the Mason and Slidell incident. The last official act of the queen's husband was to tone down certain expressions which he thought might be improved upon, in a despatch from the government of Great Britain to that of the United States. The spirit of that example was happily reproduced by the future Edward VII., almost before he had arrived at man's estate. No single incident did more to win over the frankly democratic spirit of trans-Atlantic loyalty to the British crown than the spectacle of the great-grandson of George III., bareheaded, placing a wreath on the tomb of George Washington. The sight did more than this. It helped to make the sceptre of the new English monarchy a link of union, not an agency of severance, between the two divisions of the Anglo-Saxon race on either side of the Atlantic. Long before he came to the throne, the heir-apparent, as he then was, performed all that a highly placed individual could do towards welcoming settlers from the new world in the best society of the old.

There is said to be in existence a Jacobite club, whose members, on the anniversary of his beheading, deck with flowers the London statue of Charles I. Somewhere in Bavaria resides a lady, whose remote Stuart lineage would justify her claim to wear the British crown. These droll survivors of a long-dead faction affect to regard the Hanoverian dynasty as an upstart stock. The royal family of England has been said to date back to William the Conqueror. It may boast of pedigree far more ancient, rooted in pre-Norman times. Through the grand-

mother of Henry II., the wife of Henry I., the reigning house of England is descended from Alfred the Great, from Egbert, from Cerdic, king of Wessex in the sixth century. Cerdic himself was reputed to have sprung from the demi-god Woden. The mythical degrees in the genealogy may be rejected. Even thus, in either hemisphere are few families which can boast of antiquity surpassing that of the nineteenth and twentieth century line of English sovereigns. The latest successor of kings and queens, so many and so ancient, in his most characteristic features and tastes, is above all things the product of that nineteenth century, in which he was born. Prince Alfred, the duke of Edinburgh, reproduced some of the nautical and musical traits of his great-uncle, William IV. The duke of Albany, Prince Leopold and the duke of Connaught, Prince Arthur, suggest to many persons an equal resemblance to Queen Victoria and to the Prince Consort. The sovereign on whom the twentieth century opened as Prince of Wales, faithfully, as has been seen, carried on the best traditions of both his parents. In those qualities that have won him world-wide popularity or reputation—his geniality of manner, his readiness of happy expression—may be seen survivals of the royal personality from Tudor or Stuart days. As a fact, however, this most representative son of his age occupies a place in the royal list so peculiarly his own as to forbid the search for analogues or parallels. His special function has been and is to range on the side of the crown all the chief forces, social and intellectual, political and personal, of the day. Outside politics, Edward VII., as has been just seen, has made himself the social ruler or chief of the whole Anglo-Saxon race in every country and every climate under him. He was the first to be acclaimed president over the

fashionable American colony, that has long since risen to something like social supremacy in the most modish quarters of the capital of the empire. By similarly allying himself with each new development of colonial enterprise, or of industry, freshly imported to his native land, he has cemented the union between an insular sceptre and the latest phases of a world-wide cosmopolitanism. It is the same with all the pursuits, vocations, businesses and pleasures of modern life. Politics, sport, philanthropy, amusement, letters, science and art, *la haute politique* and *la haute finance*—each of these sees not only its chief patron, but its natural head, in the British impersonation of nineteenth century kingship.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS MENTIONED.

	Date.	Page.
Egbert, King of all England...	827	4
Accession of Alfred.....	871	4
Battle of Assandun.....	1016	5
Death of Edmund.....	1016	5
The Great Council at Salisbury	1086	7
William Rufus.....	1087–1100	8
Accession of Henry I.....	1100	9
Charter of Liberties.....	1100	9
Provisions of Oxford (Henry III.)	1258	12
Lords Ordainers appointed (Edward II.).....	1310	12
Battle of Bannockburn.....	1314	65
Wat Tyler's rebellion.....	1381	15
Deposition of Richard II.....	1399	16
Attempt to confiscate revenue of higher clergy.....	1410	20
Impeachment of Suffolk (Henry VI.).....	1450	80
Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.....	1453	32
Reigns of Edward IV. and Edward V.....	1461–1483	23
Richard III. proclaimed King.	1483	25
Accession of Henry VII.....	1485	26
Discovery of America	1492	34
War with France (Henry VII.)	1492	32
Execution of Sir William Stanley	1495	31
Magnus Intercursus.....	1496	31
John Cabot reaches mainland of America.....	1497	34
French naval defeat by Sir Edward Howard.....	1513	36
First Prayer Book of Edward VI. published.....	1549	55
Ket's rebellion.....	1549	56
Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey	1553	58

	Date.	Page.
The Marian persecutions	1555–1558	51
Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis	1559	61
Beginning of the Stuart dynasty	1603	68
Gunpowder Plot	1605	73
Bates' Case	1606	73
Synod of Dort	1618–19	100
Impeachment of Sir Giles Mompesson	1621	74
Imprisonment of Pym, Coke, and Philips by James I.	1621	90
Imprisonment of Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges.	1626	93
The Five Knights' case	1627	94
Petition of Right	1628	95, 101
Meeting of Long Parliament	1640	102
Scottish Petition against Episcopacy	1640	108
Triennial Act	1641	103, 155
Impeachment of Strafford	1641	105
Grand Remonstrance	1641	111
Solemn League and Covenant.	1643	116
Establishment of Press Censorship	1655	139
Repeal of the first Triennial Act	1664	205
Birth of the Old Pretender	1688	191
Alliance between Philip of France and Pretender	1689	210
Bill of Rights	1689	156
Formation of an entirely Whig Ministry by William III.	1693	150
Commencement of National Debt	1693	150
Establishment of the Bank of England	1694	150
Second Triennial Act	1694	156
Abolition of Press Censorship.	1695	145
Restoration of the Currency	1696	153
Act of Settlement	1701	161
Death of William III.	1702	162
Barrier Treaty	1709	209
Battle of Malplaquet	1709	192
Treaty of Utrecht	1713	192, 213, 219
Death of Anne	1714	176
Riot Act passed	1714	204
Lord Mar's rising	1715	192
Battles of Preston and Sheriff-		

	Date.	Page.
muir	1715	204
Septennial Act passed	1716	205
Triple Alliance formed between England, Holland, and France	1717	211
Peerage Bill	1719	214
South Sea Bubble	1720	215
Treaty of Hanover	1727	219
The Excise Bill	1733	240
Retirement of Walpole	1742	241
Battle of Dettingen	1743	227
Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	1748	230
Licensing Act	1751	245
First Marriage Act	1753	248
Loss of Minorca	1756	233
Formation of the elder Pitt's administration	1757	234
Battle of Plassy	1757	352
Battle of Wandiwash	1760	352
Resignation of the elder Pitt	1761	289
Resignation of the Duke of Newcastle	1762	289
Lord Bute created Prime Minister	1762	291
Lord Grenville's administration	1763	294
Prosecution of Wilkes	1764	296
Stamp Act	1765	304
Rockingham premier	1765	300
Duke of Grafton premier	1767	305
American import duties imposed	1767	305
Election of Wilkes as member for Middlesex	1768	370
Royal Marriage Bill	1772	308, 395
Lord North's Regulating Act.	1773	353
Resignation of Lord North	1782	315
Rockingham's second administration	1782	328
Death of Rockingham.	1782	328
Lord Shelburne prime minister	1782	329
The younger Pitt created Chancellor of the Exchequer	1782	343
Victory of Rodney over de Grasse	1782	337
Wilkes allowed to take his seat in Parliament	1782	370

	Date.	Page.
Coalition between Fox and North	1783	344
India Bill of the Coalition	1783	353
Younger Pitt premier	1784	358
Pitt's first India bill	1784	366
Pitt's second India bill	1784	367
Pitt's Reform Bill	1785	378
Attempted assassinations of George III	1786, 1795, 1800	268
Assassination of Perceval	1812	404
Spa Fields riots	1815	416
Foreign Enlistment Bill	1819	416
Manchester Massacre	1819	417
Trial of Queen Caroline	1820	400, 411
Brougham's motions concerning power of the Crown	1822	418
Catholic Emancipation Bill	1829	419
Funeral of George IV	1830	433
Reform Bill read a second time	1831	461
Parliament dissolved by William IV. in person	1831	463
Second Reform Bill passed by Commons, but rejected by Lords	1832	476
Third Reform Bill passed by Commons	1832	477
Reform Bill becomes law	1832	478
Limitation of capital punishment	1836	500
Death of William IV	1837	482
Troubles in Upper and Lower Canada	1837–38	510
Coronation of Queen Victoria.	1838	503
The "Bedchamber Plot"	1839	521
Marriage of Queen Victoria	1840	537
Birth of King Edward VII	1841	548
Formation of the Derby Ministry	1852	525
Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry.	1852–1855	525
Military Reform Act	1871	530
The Imperial Titles Bill	1876	531
Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India	1877	531
Death of Queen Victoria	1901	557

INDEX.

A.

Abjuration Act, 168.
Absolutism foreign to English Monarchy, 46.
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, 1748, Provisions of, 351.
Alfred becomes king, 871, 4.
American Colonies, Revolt of, 278, 284; Nature and growth of, 302; Causes of revolt of, 304-321; Independence of, 333 *et seq.*
Anglican Ritual and Doctrine, 42.
Anne, Queen, 166-167; Personal qualities of, 171; Church sympathies of, 172 *et seq.*; Literary patronage of, 179.
Aurungzebe, Emperor of India, 349-350.

B.

Bacon, Sir Francis, 70, 79-80, 90.
Bank of England, Establishment of, 1694, 150-155.
Barrier Treaty, Provisions and Results of, 1709, 210.
Bedchamber Plot, The, 521, 527, 528, 534.
Berkeley, Bishop, 183.
Bolingbroke, Lord, 168, 171, 178, 222, 251, 273, 283.
Bounty, Queen Anne's, 178.
Brittany, 32. (See Henry VII.)
Brougham, Lord, 410, 418, 464, 468, 471, 472, 476, 502, 519.
Bute, Lord, 272, 285 *et seq.*, 290, 293, 298.
Butler, Bishop, 183.

C.

Cabot, John, reaches mainland of America, 1497, 34.
Canada, Attitude of, towards American Revolution, 340 *et seq.*; Rebellion in, 1837, 510-518.
Caroline of Anspach, Queen, 165, 235. (See Berkeley, Butler, George II., Smallpox, Walpole.)
Caroline of Brunswick, Queen, 407 *et seq.*
Carteret, Lord, 196, 198.
Cavendish, Lord John, 311, 325, 343 385.
Catholic Emancipation. (See Irish Union Act), 381, 401, 416, 419; Enactment of, 422.
Cato Street Conspiracy, 1820, 414.
Chamberlain, Joseph, 126 *et seq.*
Charles I., Personal qualities of, 91; Initial difficulties of, 92; Forced loans of, 94; Relations to parliament of, 94 *et seq.*; Cause of defeat of, 115 *et seq.* (See Civil War.) (See Cromwell, Oliver.) (See Long Parliament.)
Charles II., Restoration of, 125 *et seq.*; Personal traits of, 130; Interest in scientific studies of, 132; suppresses coffee-houses, 136 *et seq.*; enforces Press Censorship, 139.
Charles XII. of Sweden, Relation of, to English foreign affairs, 210-211.
Chartism, 122, 520, 536; Disturbances connected with, 539.
Cateau Cambrésis, the Treaty of, 1559, 61.
Chaucer, Political significance of, 13 *et seq.*
Civil List Expenditure, Parliamentary inquiry into, 1830, 442; Readjustment of, 443, 446.
Civil War, The Great, 114 *et seq.*
Clive, Robert, 351-353. (See India.)
Clarendon, 130, 137, 188; "History of the Rebellion" of, 173-174.
Coalition Government, The, 1783, Composition of, 345; India Bill of, 354; Defeat of, 356. (See Fox, Charles James.)
Coinage, Renewal of, 153-155.
Coffee-houses, Introduction of, 136. Interdiction of, 137.
Colonial Administration, Development of, 315-318.
Colonial Empire, Development of, 553.
Colonial Supremacy, Struggle for, with France, 229-233.
Commons and Crown join issue, 69 *et seq.*
Commutation Tax, 379. (See Smuggling.)

Compensation for Disturbance Bill, Irish, 1880, 531.
Constantinople taken by Turks, 1453, 32; Greek scholars from, scattered through Europe, 32.
Crimean War, The, Inquiry into the conduct of, 526; Military changes arising from, 530.
Criminal Law, Reform of, 500 *et seq.*
Cromwell, Oliver, 115, 119, 121, 124, 125-128; Richard, 127.
Crown over Commons, Supremacy of, George III.'s efforts to establish, 285 *et seq.*, 310. (See George III.)

D.

Defoe, Daniel, Influence of, 160-161. (See Swift, Jonathan.)
Democracy, English, Loyalty to the crown of, 551 *et seq.*
Depression, Agrarian and Industrial, 416, 428 *et seq.*, 441. (See Spa Fields Riots.)
Dethronement of Richard II., 1399, 16.
Dettingen, Battle of, 1743, 226; George II. at, 226-227.
Disraeli, Benjamin, 109, 525, 532.
Dundas, Henry, 287, 358, 364-365, 393.
Dunstan, Archbishop, 5.

E.

East India Company chartered, 1600, 83, 348 *et seq.*; Rivals of, 349; Conflict of, with French, 350 *et seq.*; Administration of, 352 *et seq.*; Legislation affecting, 353. (See Coalition Government.) (See India.)
Edgehill, Battle of, 114. (See Civil War.)
Edward IV., Kingship of, 22: Effects of policy of, 23, 24 *et seq.*
Elizabeth, Queen, 39 *et seq.*; Contrasted with Victoria, 41; Residence at Hatfield of, 44; Legitimacy of, 44 *et seq.*; Religious attitude of, 51, 59 *et seq.*; Relations to parliament of, 62-63.
English Constitution, Important factor in growth of, 2 *et seq.*
English Literature, Augustan Age of, 179 *et seq.*
Excise Bill, The Object of and National opposition to, 240.

F.

Factory Acts, First, 430; Later, 546.
Feudalism, Introduction of, into England, 7; Tendency of, 8; Passing away of, 129.
Forced Loans, 94, 101. (See Charles I.)
Foreign Enlistment Bill, 416. (See Depression.)
Foreign Policy, English, Beginning of, 36. (See Henry VII.)
Foreign Trade, Beginnings of, under Henry I., 9.
Fox, Charles James, 309, 311, 325, 338 *et seq.*, 342-344, 353, 359, 364, 371 *et seq.*; Henry, 293. (See Marriage Act.)
Franchise, Agitation for Extension of, 502. (See Reform Act.) Legislation affecting, 530.
Free Press, Influence of, 138. (See Milton.)
Free Trade, 122, 523. (See Peel, Sir Robert.)

G.

George I., Intellectual qualities of, 181; wife of, 182-183, 187; Personal traits of, 184, 190-191, 196, 260; Relations to Parliament of, 199 *et seq.* (See South Sea Scheme.)
George II., Intellectual interests of, 181-182; Wife of, 185, 235; Character of, 234, 263 *et seq.* (See Dettingen, Battle of.)
George III., Politics at accession of, 253 *et seq.*; Personal influence of, 254, 263; Character of, 265, 268, 270, 274, 288; Courage of, 266-267; Attempts on life of, 268; Early training of, 271 *et seq.*, 283. Relations to parliament of. (See Bute, North, Pelham, Pitt.)
George IV., Abilities of, 390; Political bias of, 391; Debts of, 392 *et seq.*, 425; Discreditable conduct of, 395-398; Divorce proceedings of, 400, 407 *et seq.*
Georgian Period, 1714-1830, New forces and problems of, 184 *et seq.*
Germain, Lord George, 318 *et seq.* (See American Colonies.)
Gladstone, William E., 525-532.
Gordon, Lord George, riots, 1780, 267-278.
Grand Remonstrance, The, 1641, 111-113.
Grenville, Premier, 278, 291, 293, 294 *et seq.*, 304.
Guilds, The, 53. (See Somerset, Lord Protector.)
Gunpowder Plot, 73, 97.

H.

Hampden, John, 94, 103. (See Charles I.)
Hampton Court Conference, 72. (See James I.)
Hastings, Warren, 353. (See India.)

Henry I., Kingship of, 9 *et seq.* (See Witan.)
Henry IV., Chief traits of, 17; Title to kingship of, 17.
Henry VII., Character and Policy of, 27 *et seq.*; introduces Modern England, 27 *et seq.*
Henry VIII., Character and Policy of, 34 *et seq.*
High Commission, Court of, 74, 89, 103, 136.
House of Commons, Supremacy of, prefigured, 1399, 18; Early Composition of, 19; Parliamentary session of, instituted, 19 *et seq.* (See Witan.) (See Reform Act.)
Howard, John, Prison Reform work of, 269.
Hume, Joseph, 47 *et seq.*, 443–444, 520.

I.

Imperial Titles Bill, 531, 552.
India, British Empire in, 347 *et seq.* (See East India Company.) Rival powers in, 348 *et seq.*; Decline of Mogul Empire, 350; French aggression in, 350 *et seq.*; Battle of Plassy, 1757, 352; Battle of Wandiwash, 1760, 352; Administration of, 352 *et seq.*; Pitt's Bill for government of, 367. (See Coalition Government.)
Industrial Revolution, Causes operating to produce an, 428–429; Hardships accompanying the, 429, 441.
Intemperance, Growth of, Results of, Legislative remedies attempted for, 243–246.
Irish Church, 482, 526; Disestablishment and disendowment of, 529 *et seq.*
Irish nationalism, 520; O'Connell's influence upon, 539.
Irish Union Act, 1800, 381, 401.

J.

Jamaica Bill, 520.
James I., Personal estimate of, 67, 81; Childhood, youth, training of, 67; Journey to London of, 68, 70 *et seq.*; Relations to parliament of, 68, 84, 89.

L.

Lady Jane Grey as successor to Edward VI., 1553, 58.
Laud, Archbishop, 100, 107.
Law, William, 143. (See Tractarian Movement.) (See Wesley.)
Levellers, The, 120 *et seq.*
Literary Celebrities of Early Hanoverian Period, 182–184.
Livery and Maintenance, Statutes of, 30. (See Henry VII.)
London, Social pre-eminence of, 545; Treaty of, 421.
Long Parliament, 1640, 77, 78, 99, 102 *et seq.*
Lord Falkland, 108–109.
Lords Ordainers, 1310, 12.

M.

Macaulay, Lord, 140, 457, 476, 509.
Marriage Act, The, 1753, Abuses demanding; Provisions of; Later Amendments of, 247–250.
Mary, Queen, 51–52, 58.
Mary of Orange, Queen, 163–167.
Melbourne, Lord, 482, 498–499, 502, 508, 520, 527, 541. (See Bedchamber Plot.) (See Victoria.)
Military Commissions, Sale of, ceases, 530. (See Crimean War.)
Milton, John, appeals for liberty of the Press, 138, 139, 145. (See William of Orange.)
Modern English Period begins, 26.
Montague, Finance system of, 150 *et seq.*, 180. (See Bank of England.)
Montfort, Simon de, 10, 221.
Morals, State of, in early Hanoverian era, 198 *et seq.*

N.

Naseby, Battle of, 119. (See Charles I.)
National Debt, 155, 215, 245, 379. (See Montague, Pitt the Younger, South Sea Scheme.)
Newcastle, Duke of, 284, 286, 288, 289 *et seq.*
Newton, Sir Isaac, invents reflecting telescope, 1668; and publishes Principia, 1686, 132. (See Coinage, Renewal of.)
Non-jurors, 143. (See William of Orange.)
North, Lord, 267, 278, 310, 312 *et seq.*, 325, 344 *et seq.*, 353, 360.

O.

Onslow, Speaker, parliamentary influence of, 237.

P.

Pains and Penalties, Bill of, 409. (See Caroline of Brunswick.)
Palmerston, Lord, 524, 539 *et seq.* (See North.)
Paramount Sovereignty, 47.
Parliamentary Reform, Agitation for, 416, 444; Attempts at, 447, Progress and Triumph of movement for, 450–456.

Party Government, Beginning of, 148–150; Progress of, 238–239.
Peel, Sir Robert, 541 *et seq.* (See Bedchamber Plot.)
Peerage Bill, 1719, Purpose and Defects of, 214.
Pelham, Henry, 227, 228, 231, 232, 250, 252, 292.
Perceval, Spencer, 388, 401–404.
Persecutions, Religious, under Mary, 51.
Petition of Right, Causes and Declarations of, 94–95, 101.
Pitt, the Elder, Lord Chatham, 228, 229, 232, 234, 276, 288–289, 306; The Younger, 281, 332, 338, 343, 358, 361 *et seq.*
Poor Law, The First, 1552, 57.
Pragmatic Sanction, The, 225.
Prayer Book, The first, of Edward VI., 55.
Press censorship established, 1655, 139; oppressive, 139; abolished, 1695, 145.
Pretender, The Old, 191–194; The Young, victorious at Prestonpans, defeated at Culloden, 228.
Prince Consort, The, 534 *et seq.*; corrects mismanagement of Royal household, 538; Knowledge of Foreign Politics of, 539; Attitude on controversial topics of, 540; Public services of, 542–549.
Prison Reform Acts, First English, 269.
Pulteney, Lord Bath, 198, 208, 219, 222, 224, 230, 238, 251.

R.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, Views of Sovereignty of, 45 *et seq.*
Reform Act, The First, 1832, Parliamentary franchise prior to, 21, 221, 447; Enactment of, 456 *et seq.*, 476 *et seq.*; Political effect of, 481.
Regency, Necessity for a, 372 *et seq.*; Constitutional struggle over the, 374; First Bill establishing a, 375; Second Bill, 1811, 388.
Restoration, The, 126 *et seq.*
Riot Act, the, Disturbances requiring, 204.
Rockingham, Marquis of, 305, 307, 311, 325, 328, 333.
Romilly, Sir Samuel, 500–501.
Royal Initiative, Constitutional function of, 524 *et seq.*
Russell, Lord John, 456, 475, 502, 515, 520, 524, 525.
Ryswick, Peace of, 1697, 177.

S.

Schism Act, 178.
Septennial Act, The, 205–206.
Settlement, Act of, 161–162, 484, 485.
Shelburne, Lord, 297, 310, 328, 333, 338 *et seq.*, 386.
Ship-money, 101, 103. (See Charles I.)
Six Acts, Purpose of, 417.
Slave Trade, the, Opposition to, 387; Increase of opposition to, 423, 444; Abolition of, 479.
Smallpox, New treatment of, 184–186.
Smuggling, 379. (See Commutation Tax.)
Sophia, Electress of Hanover, 181; Lineage of, 484; Character and Abilities of, 485.
Solemn League and Covenant, The, 116.
Somerset, Protector, 49 *et seq.*, 54, 55, 57.
South Sea Scheme, 215–216.
Spa Fields Riots, 416.
Stamp Act, 304 *et seq.* (See American Colonies.)
Standing Army under William of Orange, 146–147.
Stanhope, 208, 209, 210–212, 214.
Star Chamber, Court of, 87, 103, 186.
Strafford, Impeachment of, 104 *et seq.*
Stuarts, Descent of, 64.
Sunday Question, 95 *et seq.*
Sunderland, 149 *et seq.*, 167, 169, 199. (See Party Government.)
Swift, Jonathan, 173, 180. (See Defoe.)

T.

Taxation and Representation, 306. (See Pitt, the Elder.)
Thurlow, Lord, 279, 325 *et seq.*, 355, 359, 373.
Toleration, Growth of, under William of Orange, 143 *et seq.*
Townshend, Lord, 208–209, 211, 305.
Tractarian Movement, 99, 143, 187, 433.
Triennial Act, 1641, 103, 205.
Triple Alliance, The, 1717, Parties to and Projects of, 211.

U.

Undertakers, 80, 90. (See Charles I.)
United Empire Loyalists, 336–337.
Utrecht, Treaty of, 192, 213, 218 *et seq.* (See Pretender, The Old.)

V.

Vane, Sir Harry, 115, 119, 131.
Versailles, Treaty of, 1783, 333 *et seq.* (See American Colonies.)
Victoria, Queen, Parents of, 487 *et seq.*; Birth of, 489; Childhood

and education of, 490 *et seq.*; Accession of, 495 *et seq.*; Official advisers of, 497; Coronation of, 1838, 503 *et seq.*; Proclaimed Empress of India, 1877, 531; Personal instances of, 533, 534 *et seq.*; Personal influence of, in international politics, 550; Notables of Early Court Society of, 508 *et seq.*; Death of, 557.
Voltaire, 256 *et seq.*

W.

Walpole, Sir Robert, 211, 216, 217 *et seq.*, 236 *et seq.*, 251.
Wellington, Duke of, 122, 449, 477.
Wesleyanism, 187-189, 230, 387, 423.
Wesley, John (See Wesleyanism); Charles. (See Wesleyanism.)
Whitefield, George. (See Wesleyanism.)
Wilkes, John, riots, 1769, 368 *et seq.*
William of Orange, Personal influence of, 140; Traits of, 140 *et seq.*; Liberal principles of, 143, 157, 158; Relations to parliament of, 149 *et seq.*; Military feats of, 156.
William IV., Early life of, 434; Popularity of, 437 *et seq.*; Good-will of, 440. (See Reform Act.)
Witan, Authority of, 2, 4, 8, 9; Merged into National Council. 5, 7.

Edinburgh:
Printed by W. & R. Chambers, Limited.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SERIES.

Price 5s. each net.

Religious Progress in the Century.	By W. H. Withrow, M.A., D.D., F.R.S.C.
Literature of the Century.	By Professor A. B. de Mille, M.A.
Progress of South Africa in the Century.	By George McCall Theal, D.Lit., LL.D.
Medicine, Surgery, and Hygiene in the Century.	By Ezra Hurlburt Stafford, M.D.
Progress of India, Japan, and China in the Century.	By Sir Richard Temple, Bart., LL.D., &c.
Progress of the United States of America in the Century.	By Prof. Wm. Peterfield Trent, M.A., LL.D.
Continental Rulers in the Century.	By Percy M. Thornton, LL.B., M.P.
British Sovereigns in the Century.	By T. H. S. Escott, M.A.
Progress of British Empire in the Century.	By James Stanley Little.
Progress of Canada in the Century.	By J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S.
Progress of Australasia in the Century.	By T. A. Coghlan, F.S.S., and Thomas T. Ewing.
Progress of New Zealand in the Century.	By R. F. Irvine, M.A., and O. T. J. Alpers, M.A.
Political Progress of the Century.	By Thomas Macknight.
Discoveries and Explorations of the Century.	By Professor C. G. D. Roberts, M.A.
Economic and Industrial Progress of the Century.	By H. de Beltgens Gibbins, D.Lit., M.A., F.R.G.S.
Inventions of the Century.	By William H. Doolittle.
Wars of the Century, and the Development of Military Science.	By Professor Oscar Browning, M.A.
Naval Battles of the Century.	By Rear-Admiral Francis John Higginson.
Naval Development of the Century.	By Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, K.C.B.
Presidents of the United States in the Century (from Jefferson to Fillmore).	By Francis Bellamy.
Presidents of the United States in the Century (from Pierce to McKinley).	By Francis Knowles.
The Fine Arts in the Century.	By William Sharp.
Progress of Education in the Century.	By James Laughlin Hughes and Louis R. Klemm, Ph.D.
Temperance and Social Progress of the Century.	By the Hon. John G. Woolley, M.A.
Progress of Science in the Century.	By Professor J. Arthur Thomson, M.A.